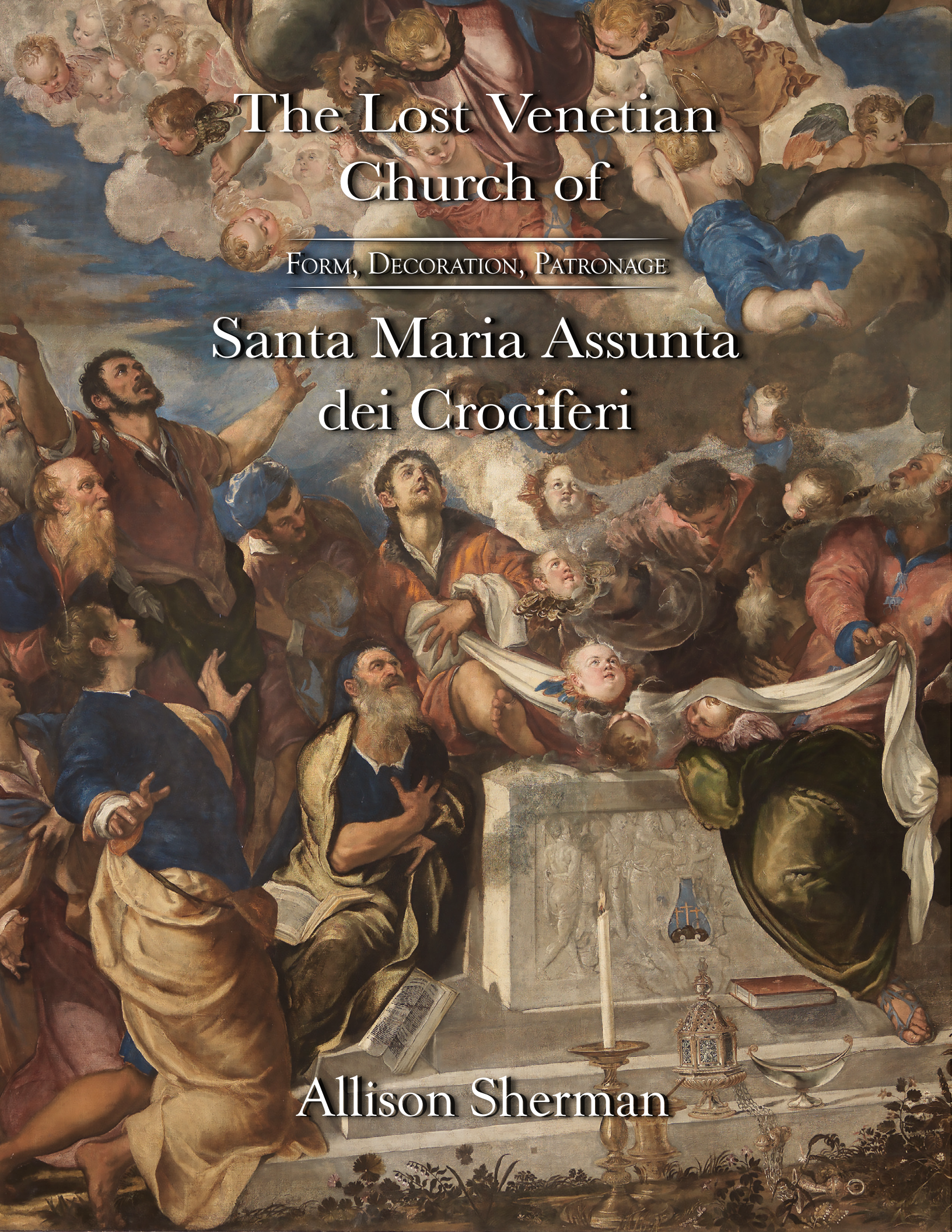

The Lost Venetian Church of

Form, Decoration, Patronage

Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi

Allison Sherman

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The Lost Venetian Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi. Form, Decoration, Patronage

with two additional essays:

Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* and its Original Location in the Lost Venetian Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi

Murder and Martyrdom: Titian's Gesuiti *St. Lawrence* as a Family Peace Offering

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Form, Decoration, Patronage

Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi

Allison Sherman

Edited by Carlo Corsato

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This book is for Joan, Bruce and Andrew Sherman
in loving memory of Allison Sherman

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Foreword

Presented here with the purpose of making it more widely available is the PhD thesis submitted by the late Allison Sherman to the University of St Andrews in 2010. The thesis represents a detailed investigation of the history and decoration of one of the most important churches in Venice in the sixteenth century, Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi. Painters and sculptors of the stature of Titian, Schiavone, Tintoretto, Veronese, Palma Giovane, Vittoria and Campagna all contributed major works of art, many of which survive in the present-day church of the Gesuiti. But as a result of the suppression of the order of the Crociferi (Crosiers, or Crutched Friars) in 1656, and of the subsequent demolition of their church, the art-historical significance of this ensemble had become largely overlooked. Serious study of the church was further impeded by the loss of the church's archive. It was Allison's achievement, as set out in her thesis, to have found a range of alternative archival sources to document the history of the church, and to integrate this with the surviving to works of art. Included here are numerous new discoveries about the leading members of the order, about the lay patrons who supported their campaign of renovation, and about the productive relationships that led to important artistic commissions.

Allison had no intention of publishing the results of her research in the present form. In the seven years between the award of her PhD and her untimely death in April 2017 she had been planning to recast the thesis in the form of a book, and had been in contact with an interested publisher. Other commitments, however, intervened. As her many devoted students at Queen's University will attest she was quite exceptionally generous with her time as a teacher and supervisor. Follow-

ing the award of a two-year postdoctoral fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, she embarked on a new book-length project, which was to investigate the displacement of Venetian works of art and attempts to preserve the local patrimony in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She was also energetic in following up new lines of enquiry prompted by sometimes chance discoveries in the Archivio di Stato in Venice, the intricacies of which she had acquired an impressive mastery. In the tragically short time left to her she did not have the opportunity to bring the planned book on the Crociferi to fruition.

There are a number of ways in which it is fair to assume that Allison would have overhauled the present text. She would, for example, have discussed her search for sources more concisely, and with a lighter touch. She would have made the organisation of her material less schematic, balancing the analysis of different categories of patron with a greater emphasis on the dynamic momentum that underlay the sequence of commissions at the church. She would have done more to relate the campaign of redecoration in the spirit of contemporary religious reform to similar campaigns in other prominent Venetian churches, such as San Francesco della Vigna and San Sebastiano. And of course, she would have been assiduous in bringing her references up to date with the latest art-historical research.

No attempt has been made here to make any of these or other revisions that only Allison could have made in the way that she thought best. It may be mentioned, however, that she did develop some of the material from the thesis in several of her published articles and book chapters listed here below. Other publications were developed from some of her other archival discoveries, including one related to her postdoctoral project. Likewise reprinted here below is the moving tribute to her personal and intellectual qualities posted on the Renaissance Society of America's website soon after her death by her friends Sharon Gregory and Sally Hickson. As they show, in her short publishing career Allison had already made a significant impact on Venetian studies, and was increasingly widely recognised as a rising star of Italian Renaissance scholarship.

As is normal in academic theses, the references originally took the form of footnotes, and the illustrations were provided on a separate compact disk. The tasks of gathering new images, and of reformatting and digitising the text, were generously undertaken by Carlo Corsato. Allison's family, her many other friends, and everyone interested in the history and art of Renaissance Venice will be grateful to Carlo for his professionalism and dedication.

Peter Humfrey, October 2020

Editor's Note

This publication makes available Allison Sherman's pioneering research on the church of the Crociferi in Venice to the wider community of scholars and the general public. I had the privilege of discussing this exceptionally impressive work of scholarship with Allie herself. I recall vividly our endless conversations: she was trying to reshape and restructure the contents and findings of her PhD dissertation, and was growing more and more uncomfortable with the new scholarly fashion that favours intellectual charade over accurate historical reconstruction, biased speculation over sensible analysis of facts.

It is impossible to know what form and tone this book would have taken if she had had the time to prepare the final draft herself. In part, rearrangements and expansions of her work can be appreciated in two different contributions that have been included at the end of the present publication. The essay 'Titian's Martyrdom of St. Lawrence and its Original Location in the Lost Venetian Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi' was the opening chapter of the volume *La Notte di san Lorenzo* (2013), edited by Letizia Lonzi and the late Lionello Puppi. I wish to thank my friend and colleague Letizia for making available the unpublished original English version of the text. I have expanded the number of illustrations, and have re-edited the English text, taking into account the corrections that Allie had made before the publication — but excluding any errors introduced accidentally by the Italian translator.

The second essay, 'Murder and Martyrdom: Titian's Gesuiti St. Lawrence as a Family Peace Offering', appeared in *Artibus et Historiae* (2015): I am most grateful to Józef Grabski and Joanna Wolanska for having facilitated its second publication.

This essay offers the best evidence of the style and tone that Allie might have wanted to adopt to redraft her dissertation. But most importantly, this essay is a significant and yet overlooked investigation of Titian's *Martyrdom of St Lawrence* (Chiesa dei Gesuiti, Venice). In 2005 my supervisors talked me out of studying this painting for my graduation thesis, for they believed that new documentation could not be found anywhere in the archives. I am so glad that Allie received much wiser advice from her supervisor and discovered unpublished documents that do full justice to the history and patronage of one of the most beautiful of Titian's altarpieces.

Apart from the inclusion of these two additional essays, the present publication maintains the structure, original text, and archival documentation in the form in which they were submitted by Allie to the University of St Andrews in 2010. Previously only available in pdf format, her dissertation has been digitised and extensive editing and proofreading were conducted. I was generously assisted by my friend and colleague Rebecca Norris, along with Danielle Little and Freya Tyrrell, two of my students at the University of Buckingham, who wanted to help once they had heard the moving story of Allie's tragic death. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Rebecca for helping with the painstaking and challenging tasks that allowed the original form of the text, endnotes and appendices to be reconstructed and preserved. Alterations have been limited to the introduction of italic in place of underlined words, corrections of typos (wherever possible) and re-numbering of chapters to conform to the standards of scholarly books. Slips and errors were corrected only when Allie's original intention could be deduced from other parts of the manuscript, or from the two above-mentioned essays. Vernacular names of persons, places and institutions were made consistent with their forms in modern Italian, or with the modern transcription of Venetian dialect. Unfortunately, original documents could not be checked in the archives, but I trust that scholars will rectify any errors in future publications. Minor slips in the transcriptions were rectified only when the correct form was self-evident, or consistently used in other documents.

Illustrations follow the order decided by Allie but were expanded in number to improve readability. Interactive cross-references were also included to facilitate the navigation between the different parts of the book. Good-quality photographs were sourced and the digital form of this publication allows the reader to zoom images and often to study even the smallest details. The illustrations were edited and scaled accurately, diagrams re-designed, and new photomontages produced, all to better illustrate the content discussed in the text. It would not have been possible to include illustrations of such quality without the generous help of Andrea Bellieni (Museo Correr, Venice), Guido Beltramini and Deborah Howard (Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio), Agata Brusegan (Istituzioni di Ricovero e

di Educazione, Venice), Melissa Conn and Leslie Contarini (Save Venice), Antonella Fumo (Procuratoria di San Marco), Paola Marini (former director of the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón (Real Monstrerio de El Escorial), Luke Syson (The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), José Luis Valverde Merino and Javier Rodrigo del Blanco (Patrimonio Nacional). Professional photographers have also donated their images and I am particularly thankful to the various contributors to Wikimedia Commons (see the Photographic Credits for their details), Piero Codato and Giorgio Santuzzo (Cameraphoto Arte, Venice), Franco Cogoli, Anna Rosa Nicola and Nicola Pisano (Nicola Restauri, Aramengo), Apollonio Tottoli (Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice). All these scholars and professionals have granted permission to publish their photographs free of charge, as their own tribute to the memory of a beloved and highly esteemed colleague and friend.

I am most grateful to Peter Humfrey for having encouraged this publication and tirelessly helped to make this project possible. Finally, my most sincere gratitude goes to Joan Sherman and Bruce Sherman for having welcomed and supported this project from the beginning. This publication would have never been possible without their blessing and encouragement.

With their permission and approval, the present text and the illustrations I have created (listed as © Allison Sherman — Carlo Corsato in the Photograph Credits) were published under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International Public Licence. This will grant scholars and the general public permission to remix, adapt, and build upon the present text (and some of the illustrations) non-commercially. The only caveats are that the intellectual property of Allison Sherman should always be acknowledged, and that copies or adaptations of her work should be released under the same or similar licence as the original. Allie was a strong advocate of free dissemination of and access to scholarship. This publication needs to be treasured as her last and most generous gift to us.

My last thought goes to Allie herself. It was an honour and privilege to work on this last project of hers. In the last three years, I have constantly searched my memory for her words of wisdom: they have guided every step of my work and comforted me every time I feared I might have failed her. For three years, the most private corner of my heart was a sanctuary of her memory, but it is time for me to let her go. Her voice needs to be heard, the legacy of her beautiful mind deserves to be shared as widely as possible. Rest assured, my lovely friend: you have not been forgotten, and never will be.

Carlo Corsato, October 2020

Acknowledgments

So much more than a word of gratitude is owed to my supervisor, Professor Peter Humfrey, for his role in this project. His own work inspired to me to study Venice long before I knew him, he encouraged me to take up the subject of the Crociferi, supported my progress, even when it was at a distance, and was astonishingly quick and insightful with his comments on my drafts. There is so much of him in this work, in content and in spirit, and I could not have asked for a better person to have in my corner.

The final version of this dissertation was improved thanks to the corrections and thoughtful comments of my examiners, Professor Brendan Cassidy and Professor Deborah Howard.

I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the University of St Andrews, the Overseas Research Students Award Scheme, and the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation for the financial support that enabled my research.

My research was facilitated by the staff of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, the Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia, the Biblioteca Nationale Marciana, the Biblioteca del Museo Correr, the Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini Stampalia, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, the Archivio di Stato di Treviso, the Archivo di Stato di Padova, the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, the Biblioteche Comunali di Treviso, Stauffer Library at Queen's University and Robarts Library at the University of Toronto.

The heartbeat of the Department of Art History, Margaret Hall, Dawn Waddell and Lynn Whittaker, deserve endless thanks for the practical and moral support they provided throughout this process.

I share this achievement with my won-

derful family, whose unconditional love is the safety net that makes all things possible. Thanks eternal to my mother, whose enthusiasm for learning encouraged my own. I was sustained so many times throughout these last years by her seemingly endless store of strength and patience. She was my only companion in "Buckle-down City", and she loved me all the way to the finish line in a way only she could. I am thankful for the loving guidance of my dad, whose dedication to art production, education and highlighting the beauty in the world has been an inspiration to me all my life. Grammy and Grampy Simpson and my brother Andrew were always ready with a friendly ear and words of encouragement.

This journey has been blessed by the support of many dear friends, old and new. Life would not be the same without Sally "Pony" Hickson and Sharon Gregory, who gave me that first magical introduction to Venice and then the precious gift of their friendship. Chris Howitt supported this endeavor in too many ways to count, supplying everything from my precious laptop and endless airport runs, to bottomless compassion and moral support. Alana Molleson provided the comfort only a friend of such longstanding can. My time in Scotland was enriched by Margaret Humfrey, Jay (Shin-chieh) Tzeng, Zenobia Kozak, Nicola Searle, Kayhan Shaghaghi, and by my fellow postgraduates in the Department of Art History. The material wealth of Venice pales in comparison to the treasured friends it has brought into my life: Krystina Stermole, Edoardo Gamba, Jill Weinreich, Esther Brummer-Gabel, and Alex Bamji. Venetianist colleagues who were generous with their own research and expertise deserve to be singled out: Joanne Allen, Lydia Hamlett, and Deborah Walberg. Mentors and friends from my Queen's days were an indispensable source of advice and encouragement: Pierre du Prey, David McTavish, Peter "Friendly" Coffman, Jane Russell Corbett, Stan Corbett, Rozan Roberts, Steven Stowell, Kristy Holmes, Kristin Campbell, Angela Roberts and Georg Christ. Thanks also to valued mentors from my LaSalle years, Liz "Madame" Westgarth and Gail Buchner, for their ongoing support, and to the late Anne Stevenson, a brilliant educator whose influence was formative.

Finally, there is one to whom a very special word thanks is owed, my friend and mentor Berkeley Brean, who passed away the month after I arrived in Scotland. His life, dedicated to education and excellence, touched my own in the most profound of ways. So often over these last years I wished for his wisdom, humour, the warmth of his presence, and have found comfort in the realisation that all of these things have stayed with me even though he is gone. It is to his memory that I dedicate this piece of work, that in so many respects he set in motion.

Allison M. Sherman, 2010

Abbreviations

m. v. = *more veneto*
In Venice the year began on 1 March, which means that dates in January and February have to be adjusted by one year. This system is known as *more veneto*, i.e. 'accoding to the customs of Venice'.

Libraries and Archives

ASP = Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia
AST = Archivio di Stato di Treviso
ASV = Archivio di Stato di Venezia
ASVat = Archivio Segreto Vaticano
BCT = Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso
BMC = Biblioteca del Museo Correr
BNM = Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

Archival References

Archivio Segreto Vaticano:
ANV = Archivio della Nunziatura di Venezia
CVR = Congregazione Vescovi e Regolari
CSR = Congregazione Stato dei Regolari, Relationes
FV II, CV = Fondo Veneto II, Chiese Varie
MA = Miscellanea Armadio
SS = Segretaria di Stato, Venezia
VA = Visita Apostolica

Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia:
CSM = Capitolo di San Marco, pergamene

Archivio di Stato di Treviso:
CRS, SMR = Corporazioni religiose soppresse, San Martino e Rosa

Archivio di Stato di Venezia:
AP = Notarile, Atti Piccini

Barbaro = Marco Barbaro, *Arbori de' Patritii Veneti*
CRS = Corporazioni religiose soppresse
DelibR = Senato, Deliberazioni Roma Ordinaria
DispR = Senato, Dispacci Roma
GdP = Giudici del Petizion
NA = Notarile, Atti
NT = Notarile, Testamenti
PdC = Provveditori di Comun
PsM = Provveditori sopra Monasteri
PSMcitra = Procuratori di San Marco de Citra
PSMsupra = Procuratori di San Marco de Supra
SDC = Sopraintendenti alle Decime del Clero
SDR = Dieci Savi sopra le Decime in Rialto
SPS, BVC = Scuole piccole e suffragi, Beata Vergine della Concezione
ZC = Procuratori di San Marco de citra, Commissarie [Zen Commissaria], B. 234/5.

Most Cited Journal Titles

AV: = *Arte Veneta*
ATV: = *Ateneo Veneto*
BM: = *Burlington Magazine*
DBI: = *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*
JWCI: = *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
SV: = *Studi Veneziani*
VC: = *Venezia Cinquecento*
ZfK: = *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*

Introduction

The church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti is situated at the extreme north of Venice in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio, where the waters of the lagoon meet the island at the Fondamente Nuove. Its soaring sculptural façade and its exuberantly decorated interior make it one of the finest examples of Venetian high-Baroque in the city (figs. 1-4). It is ornamented by one of the finest Titian altarpieces remaining *in situ*, an important Tintoretto, and a considerable collection of works by Palma il Giovane, easily the highest in quality and number possessed by any Venetian church. These images are relics from the monastic church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi, acquired by the Jesuits after the suppression of the Crociferi in 1656, and demolished in 1718 to make way for their new church. This dissertation will reconstruct the form, decoration and patronage of this lost church, once a shrine to artists of the Cinquecento such as Cima da Conegliano, Giovanni Mansueti, Lattanzio da Rimini, Lorenzo Bregno, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Alessandro Vittoria, Girolamo Campagna and Palma il Giovane.

1. Domenico Rossi, Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti, Venice, 1715-1729

Crociferi: Neglect, Clarification, Reconstruction

The church of the Crociferi occupied this same location for over a half millennium. Its foundation around 1155 predated that of most of the more renowned surviving churches in Venice, such as Santi Giovanni e Paolo and Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. In comparison to more famous mendicant orders, the Crociferi remain a relatively obscure group, and the Venetian branch is no exception. Despite boasting an important monastic community and one of the more lavish-

ly-decorated churches of the Cinquecento, the Venetian Crociferi have not enjoyed much scholarly attention. The most extensive treatment remains Lunardon's history of the Crociferi hospital.[1] Her research expanded upon two brief studies of the oratory, providing the first comprehensive narrative of their development in Venice.[2] Commentary on the church has been restricted to abbreviated histories and vague guidebook descriptions.[3] Sources so imperative to the study of lost buildings as Tassini's *Edifici distrutte*, Zorzi's *Venezia Scomparsa*, and Bassi's *Tracce di chiese veneziane distrutte* make only cursory mention of the church, as they focus primarily on buildings destroyed during the Napoleonic suppressions and the Austrian occupation that followed.[4] Antonio Visentini and Jan Grevembroch, who so often provide important visual records for reconstructive projects like this one, arrived too late to capture the church of the Crociferi, destroyed short decades before their activity.

The adage "out of sight, out of mind" has relevance here: it is the natural tendency of scholarship to focus on things that still exist. Suppressed in 1656, the Crociferi were eclipsed by other mendicant orders that flourished and endured while the Crociferi fell into disrepute. The destruction of the church and its replacement with the Gesuiti has resulted in confusion and conflation. Much scholarship has taken for granted that the Jesuits have always occupied the church and monastery, which was only the case beginning in 1657.

Little effort has been made to clarify the more complex history of the space, which in turn obscures the way we view and interpret the considerable artistic patrimony the Crociferi left behind. The reader is warned that in an attempt to clarify context, this dissertation strays at times from strictly visual material to provide information vital for the interpretation of objects that will ultimately interest the art historian. This dissertation is archaeological in nature; it will reconstruct the form their monastery took, how it was decorated, when and by whom, how it changed and responded—physically and ideologically—to its environment as a result of political, social, religious, doctrinal change.[5] It will examine patterns of patronage: ducal, private, corporate and monastic. This reveals an intricate web of connections and collaborations between individuals and communities, as well as a conscious effort on the part of the Crociferi to solicit and coordinate patronage and decoration of their church in two phases throughout the cinquecento.

Archival Badlands

A further deterrent to the study of the Venetian Crociferi is almost certainly the extreme lack of archival documentation. While both the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Archivio di Stato di Venezia are home to many robust *buste* pertaining to other suppressed religious communi-

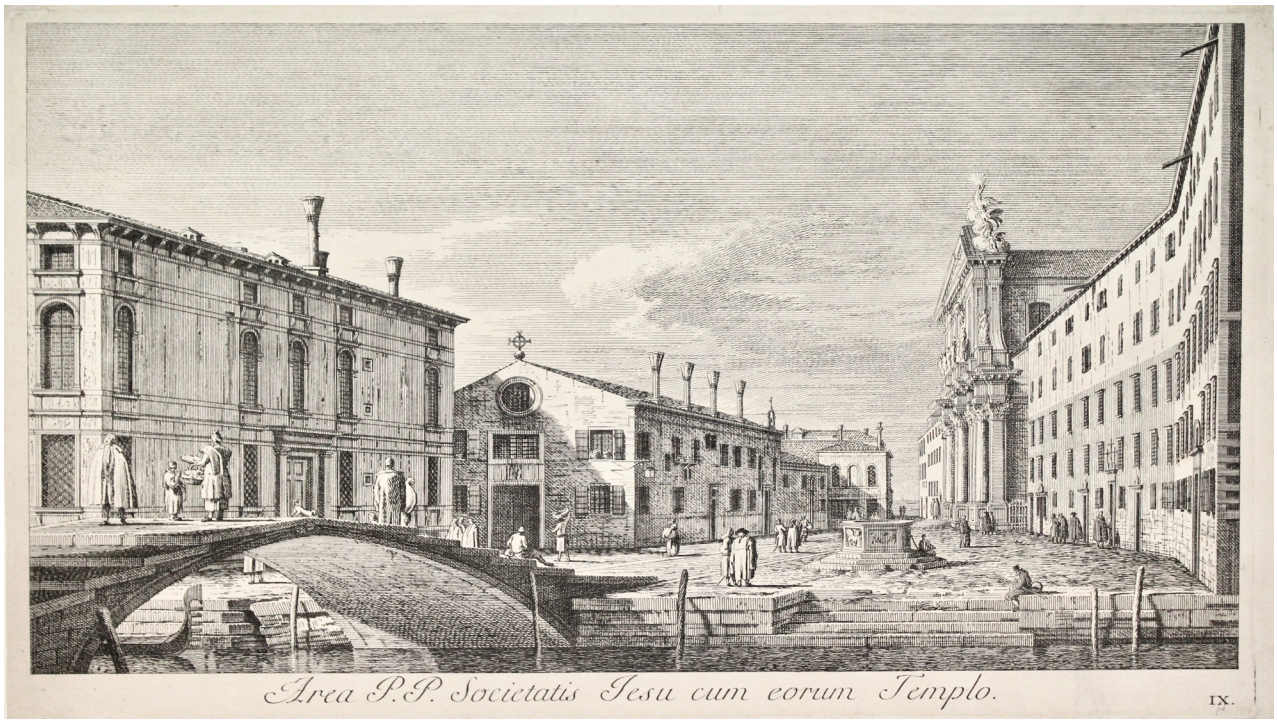
2. Campo dei Gesuiti, Venice

ties in Venice, no unified archive survives for the Crociferi. Cicogna recorded "antichissimi carte" relating to the Crociferi at the Correr[6], now lost, and only a single *busta* remained for the Crociferi when Da Mosto penned his guide to the Archivio di Stato, which has since been lost.[7] Unlike the archives of religious houses suppressed contemporaneously, the Crociferi archive is not at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.[8] Eight Crociferi *processi* pertaining to various administrative issues are conserved in the archive of the Venetian Nunziatura, in addition to a copy of the 1581 apostolic visit to the church.[9] The Vatican holds a single *busta* containing three documents on the order in Italy and another on its houses in Germany.[10] None of the extensive instructions, communications or inventories exchanged between Venice and Rome during the distribution of the *beni* of the Crociferi ever mention archives or papers.[11] Any remaining documents had disappeared sometime before Flaminio Corner. This great eighteenth-century archivist and author of the seminal works on Venetian churches, lamented an unfortunate lack of documentation for this important monastery.[12]

The documents remaining from the suppressions of small convents in the mid-seicento was a subject of particular interest to Corner, and therefore his notation of the scarcity of documents

in his time narrows the field for the archive's disappearance to before 1749.[13] A pair of Cinquecento histories of the order written by two prominent Crociferi, Venetians Marc'Antonio Boldù and Benedetto Leoni, have often served as the central sources for Crociferi studies. Both authors testify to the existence of an archive that had been kept at the motherhouse in Bologna, and eventually in Venice. Benedetto Leoni noted Trecento documents in the "archivio delli monasteri crocifero a Bologna",[14] and later the existence of a fifteenth-century apostolic letter "riservate nell'istesso archivio a Vinetia".[15] Evidently the Venetian monastery did at one time house important writings and relics that were purveyed from other Crociferi monasteries during the period of disorder in the Quattrocento because Venice was considered a secure location, immune to looting. Venice was, however, not impervious to the threat of fire, and indeed the monastery was claimed by a blaze in 1513. Marc'Antonio Boldù confirms in his 1571 history that the bulk of these treasures were lost in this blaze,[16] and the need for a proper location to house an archive is mentioned in the Crociferi constitution, published in 1587.[17] A short description of the history of the order that accompanied a review of the state of the Crociferi and each of its remaining houses just before the 1656 suppression, confirms the realization of such an archive and a tantalizing reference to the presence of "ancient inventories" in it.[18] Yet, on the brink of suppression, when each of the remaining priors attempted

3. Antonio Visentini (after Canaletto), *Campo dei Gesuiti*, 1735, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (see also fig. 119)



4. Canaletto, *Campo dei Gesuiti*, 1730–1735, private collection, Milan

to defend their legitimacy by invoking their longevity, they were forced to admit their inability to provide any documentary evidence of it.[19]

Lunardon suggests that fragments remained in the Jesuit monastery, inherited along with the property.[20] The primary evidence for this is the survival of a ground plan of the Jesuit complex in the Bibliotèque Nationale de Paris, and Corner's assertion that he read about the 1214 fire in a manuscript history of the order in the Jesuit library.[21]

Although it is possible that Crociferi documents did remain in Jesuit possession and were dispersed following their suppression in 1773, I would suggest an alternative hypothesis for the fate of its archive. Preserved in the *fondi* of the Procuratori di San Marco de Supra in a series called "Chiesa: Commissarie e ammini- strazione" is a group of "pergamene diverse" belonging to the Crociferi and to the monastery of Santo Spirito in Isola, which was suppressed by the same papal bull in April 1656.[22] These documents have gone unnoticed, probably because they are in a somewhat unlikely spot; Procuratori de Supra were chiefly concerned with matters pertaining to the ducal church, while their counterparts, the Procuratori di San Marco de Citra, would have been responsible for administering to pious institutions north of the Grand Canal where the Crociferi were located. The documents probably ended up in the possession of the procurators as a result of their involvement in

the post-suppression sale of these *conventini*. Three "Procuratori Assistenti" were nominated by the Senate to assist the papal nuncio and protect Venetian interests, and perhaps whatever was left of the Crociferi archive passed to them.

A reconstruction of the state of the Crociferi during the Cinquecento has proven challenging due to the lack of a centralized monastic archive and the sorts of potential leads it would generally provide, requiring a more exhaustive search in less obvious places. The Byzantine nature of the Venetian government is largely responsible for the complex organisation of the Archivio di Stato, and for the scattering of sources of information presented here. Horatio Brown, a great early excavator of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, wrote in 1887:

> "Among the archives of Europe, none is superior in historical value and richness of minutiae, to the archives of the Venetian Republic".[23]

It is only because of the meticulous and extensive record keeping of the Republic that any trace of the Venetian Crociferi has survived.

Sources: Early History

The early history of the Crociferi in Venice and the Veneto has been comprehensively reconstructed by Pacini, based on early papal letters, bulls, privileges, many of which were transcribed in a manuscript preserved at the Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso.[24] Probably compiled just after the suppression of the order by an anonymous member of the last Crociferi, the 630-page manuscript gives a history of the order and each of the Crociferi houses, with transcriptions of surviving documents pertinent to each.[25] Additionally, there is a list of Crociferi brothers and their achievements throughout history, saints of the order, and a rather defensive account of the suppression entitled *Effetti pessimi e lachrimevoli prodota dalla suppressione della religione*.

Another small collection of *pergamene* is preserved in the Archivio Storico di Patriarcato di Venezia.[26] Kehr knew the documents at the end of the nineteenth century, and I suspect that they constitute whatever was left of the ancient papers of the order at the time of the suppression.[27] The survival of these documents lends further support to the notion that the remains of the Crociferi archive passed to the Procuratori, as they belong to another collection of *pergamene* with no clear provenance from the archive of the Capitolo di San Marco.

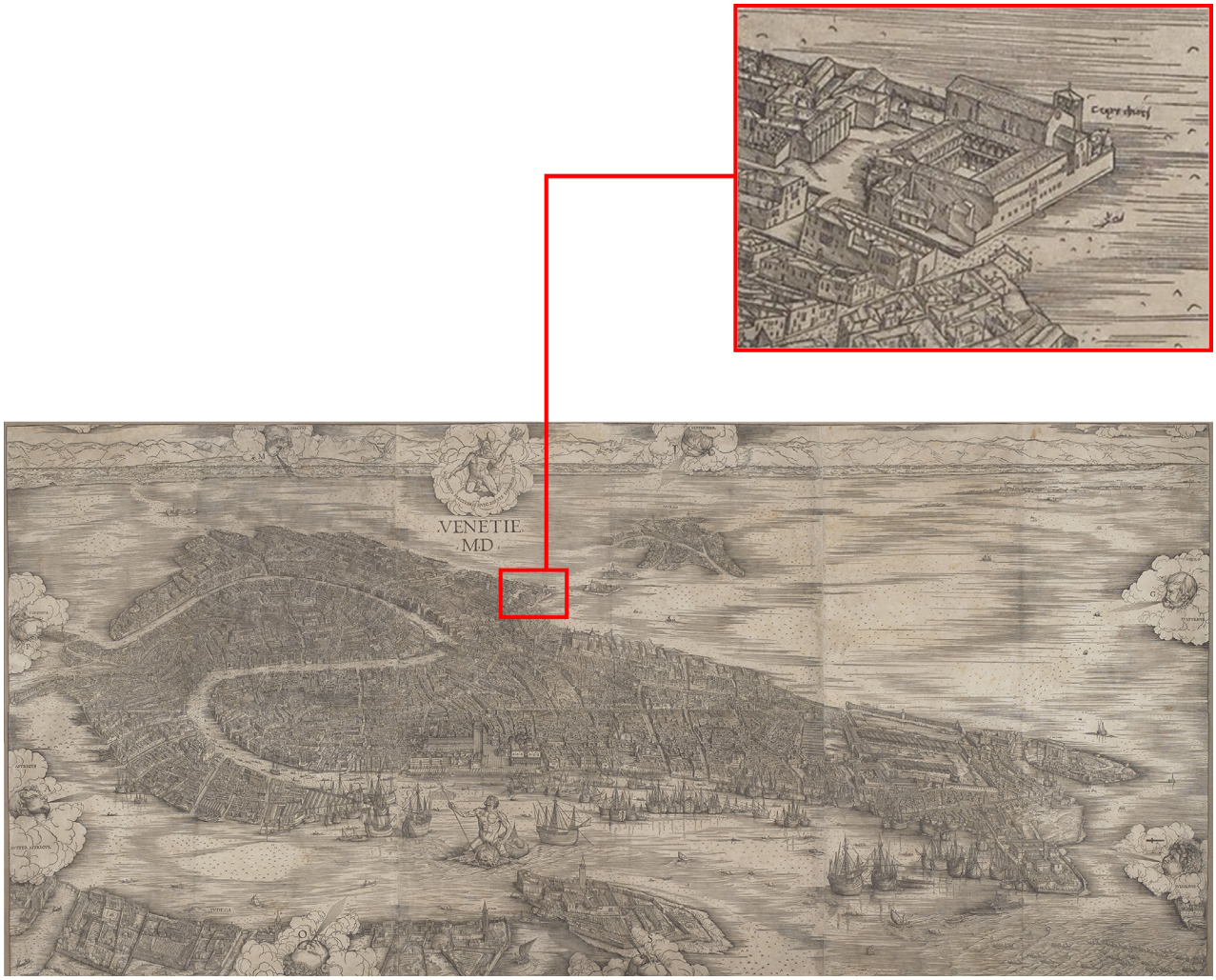
Sources: The Venetian Crociferi

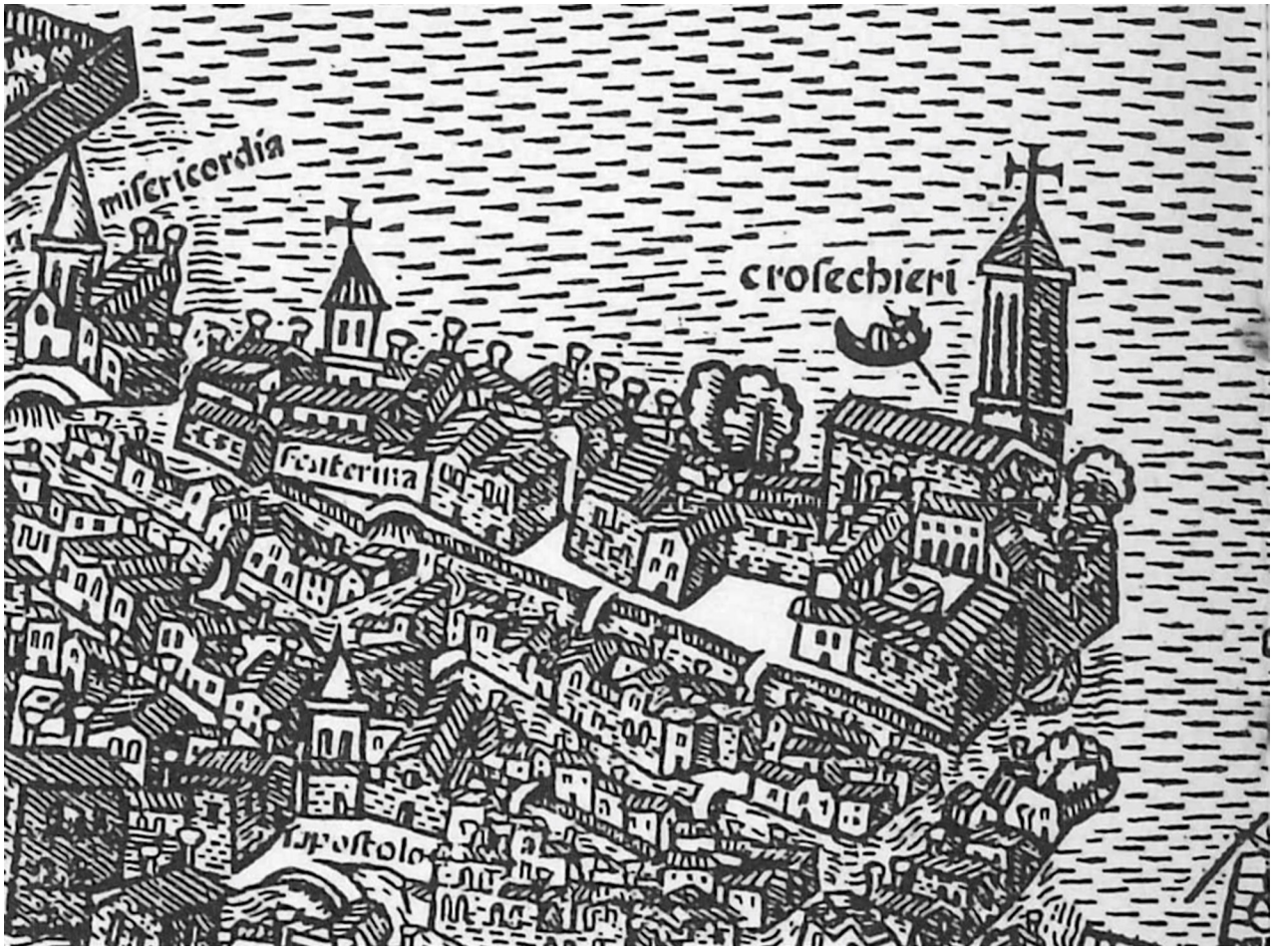
Because the material preserved in the archive of the Provveditori sopra monasteri —the officials charged with overseeing ecclesiastical matters concerning discipline, building and finances—is generally quite late, the records of this

office are only usezful for documenting the period of the suppression of the order.[28] Sources that sometimes provide information on the building, renovation and decoration of churches, such as the deliberations of the Senate, the records of the salt magistrates, and the *Notatorio* of the Collegio, remain for the most part silent on this monastery.

One of the most telling archival documents for the Crociferi in the sixteenth century is their *condizione*, or declaration of property, income and expenses, recorded for the census of ecclesiastical institutions carried out in 1564 by the Soprintendenti alle decime del clero.[29] This document amounts to a snapshot of life at the monastery, recording their properties, expenses and sources of income.[30] The *condizione* also names those living in the monastery, which proved critical to forming a timeline of the high-ranking *frati* and isolating the quorum of Crociferi who would have been responsible for the projects of redecoration. The account books of the depend-

5. Jacopo de'Barbari, *Bird's-Eye View of Venice* with detail of the Church and Campo dei Crociferi, 1500





6. Detail of the Church and Campo dei Crociferi from Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, *Bird's-Eye View of Venice*, c. 1525

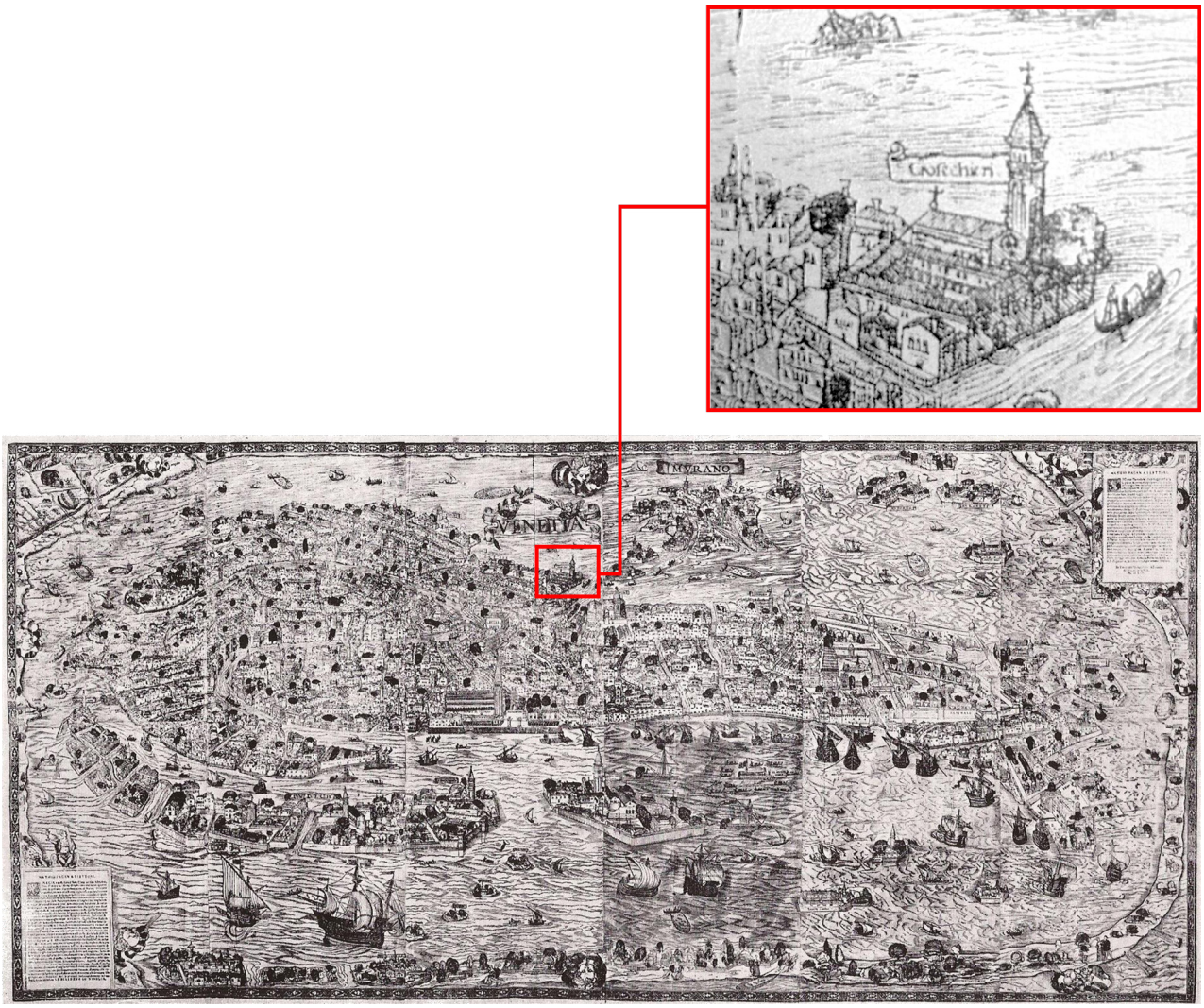
ent Crociferi monastery of San Martino di Conegliano were also helpful in this regard.[31] An exhaustive search of the vast notarial archive yielded the names of at least three of the notaries the Crociferi used during the sixteenth century: Diotisalvi Benzon and his son, Giovanni Battista, and Giovanni Figolin. Because notaries registered all official agreements, their protocols have the potential to contain documents that might have once survived in duplicate in the lost archive. A number of Crociferi brothers emerged from the pages of these protocols as chief protagonists in this narrative. Further research into this initial list of Crociferi revealed that many of them were accomplished musicians, preachers and authors. The dedications and content of their printed works further embellished the list of names and testified to the status of the monastery as a centre of learning and culture. Particularly useful was Crocifero Luigi Contarini's 1587 *Giardino Historico*, a compendium of facts that included a history of his order and the accomplishments of historical figures, including his fellow Crociferi. Like

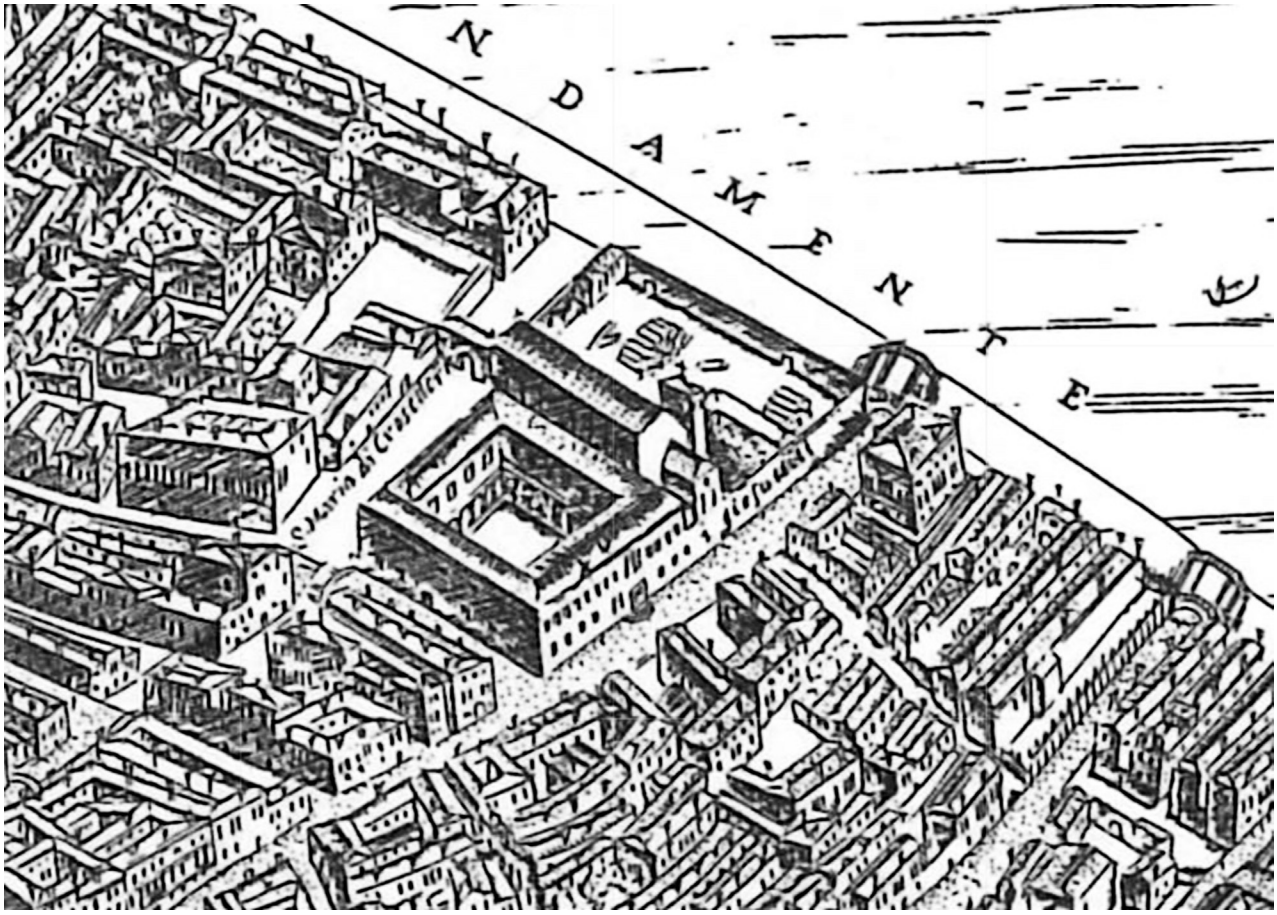
the histories of Marc'Antonio Boldù and Benedetto Leoni, as well as the published version of the order's revised constitution of 1581,[32] these writings bring into focus the values and concerns of the community at the peak of its revival, information critical to understanding the obscured context of the church and its decoration.

Sources: Form and Decoration of the Church

A reconstruction of the church exterior was facilitated by Jacopo de' Barbari's invaluable woodcut bird's-eye view of Venice (1500). Three further maps dating to c. 1535, 1559 and 1660 were consulted to determine if any changes to the church were made over the course of the following century (figs. 5–8). More detailed views of the façade were provided by

7. Matteo Pagan, *Bird's-Eye View of Venice* with detail of the Church and Campo dei Crociferi, 1559

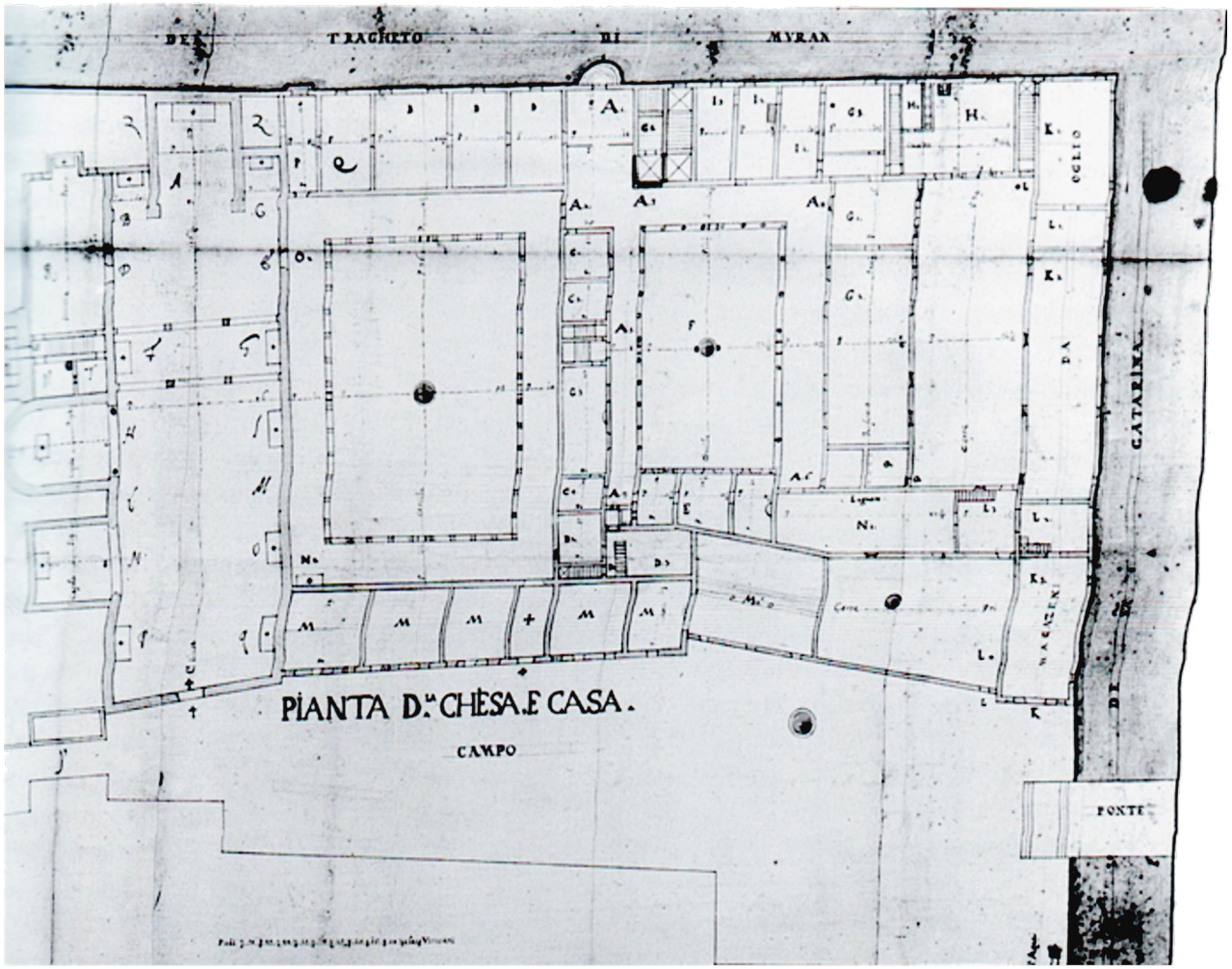




8. Giovanni Merlo, Detail of the Church, Monastery and Campo dei Crociferi from *Bird's-Eye View of Venice*, 1660

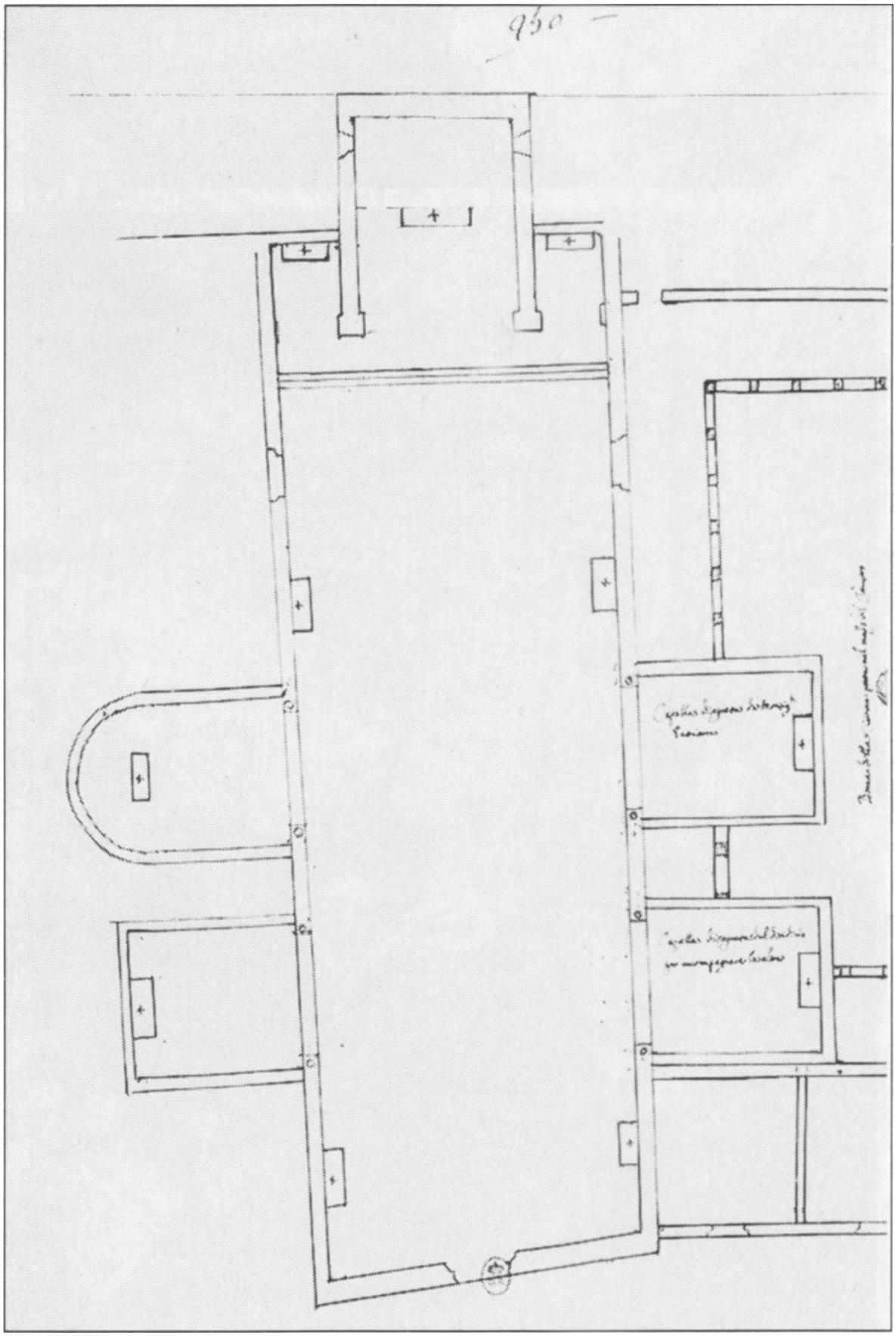
various painted and engraved views of the campo.[33] Ground plans (c. 1667) of the original church and cloister survive in the archive of the Provveditori sopra monasteri and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (figs. 9-10).[34] A more vivid sense of the interior and its decoration was supplied by guidebooks and early art criticism. Clearly one must proceed with caution when relying on such sources; the taste of the day and its understanding of what defined the style of artists sometimes differs from our own. As a consequence, these authors inevitably make false attributions and fail to notice or describe objects that we now consider interesting. I have also tried to bear in mind the fallibility of subsequent authors who often blindly rely on previous testimony.

A comparative analysis of these sources helped to form a timeline for the arrival and disappearance of works of art. The locations of altars and their patronage came into clearer focus through the records of the apostolic visit to the church in 1581,[35] a year that emerged as an appropriate benchmark for the first of two reconstructions. By 1581 most of the important Cinquecento decoration was



9. Floorplan (before the 1667 renovations) of the Church and Monastery of the Crociferi, after 1657, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

in situ and could be placed through the testimony of Sansovino and the apostolic visitors. My discovery of a previously unknown inventory taken of the church and monastery just before the Jesuits took possession of the church in 1656 facilitated the creation of a second reconstruction of the church and its contents at the moment the Crociferi abandoned it.[36]



[1] S. Lunardon, *Hospitale S. Mariae cruciferorum. L'ospizio dei Crociferi a Venezia*, (Venice, 1985).

[2] G. Bellomo, *Notizie storico-pittoresche dell'oratorio de' SS. Filippo Neri e Luigi Gonzaga annesso all'Ospizio di S. Maria de' Crociferi in campo de' Gesuiti* (Venice, 1845); G. Bianchini, *La Chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta de' Gesuiti in Venezia* (Venice, 1891).

[3] A. Gallo and S. Branca Savini, *Chiesa dei Gesuiti* (Venice, 2002).

[4] G. Tassini, *Edifici di Venezia distrutti o volti ad uso diverso da quello a cui furono in origine destinati* (Venice, [1885], 1969), 177; A. Zorzi, *Venezia Scomparsa* (Milan, 1984); E. Bassi, *Tracce di chiese veneziane distrutte: ricostruzioni dai disegni di Antonio Visentini* (Venice, 1997).

[5] Recent studies with similar goals include: H. D. Walberg, "'Una compiuta galleria di pitture Veneziane': The Church of S. Maria Maggiore in Venice," *SV* 68 (2005), 259- 303; B. Paul, "Not One but Three: The Churches of the Benedictine Convent SS. Cosma and Damiano on the Giudecca" *VC* 34 (2007), 41-75

[6] BMC, Cod. Cicogna. MMMCCCCLX, "Crociferi di Venezia. Documenti rari (XII-XV) spettanti ad Monastero dei".

[7] A. da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia* (Roma, 1940), II, 139. Indicated a single "pezzo" (1260-1418). These remain in the index, however Dott. Schiavon of the Archivio di Stato assures me that they are lost.

[8] Documents from Santo Spirito in Isola, suppressed by the same papal bull, are located in ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, Chiese Varie, B. 907.

[9] *L'archivio della nunziatura di Venezia*, ed. G. Roselli (Rome, 1998), 137, 182-3, 195, 201, 247, 263, 409. ASVat, Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica in Venezia II, Processus, 2422. A better copy of the visit is in ASVat, Congregazione Vescovi e Regolari, Visite Apostoliche, 96, f. 70r-74r.

[10] ASVat, Ordini Religiosi, Crociferi. A small collection of papers (c.1577-1672).

[11] ASVat, Segreteria di Stato, nn. 83, 84, 87, 88, 89 and 281, and ASV, Senato, Dispacci da Roma, filz. 134, 136, 139, Deliberazioni Roma, filz. 91, 94, 95, and especially the inventory of the *beni* of S. Maria dei Crociferi (ASV, NA, A.M. Piccini, B. 11125).

[12] F. Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis nunc etiam primum editis illustratae ac in decades distributae* (Venice, 1749), II, 176. He follows Boldù that the bulk of the archive was lost in the 1513 fire. B. Lanfranchi Strina, "Documenti trascritti e perduti" *Ateneo Veneto* 18 (1980), 72.

[13] Lanfranchi Strina, 1980, 72.

[14] BMC, Cod. Cic. 3045, Marc'Antonio Boldú, *La Historia della Religione Crocifera*, 1571; B. Leoni, *L'Origine et fondatione dell'ordine de' Crociferi* (Venice, 1598), 6. G. P. Pacini, "L'ordine ospitaliero dei Crociferi attraverso il Cod. MS. 474

10. Floorplan of the Church of the Crociferi with proposal for the addition of two right lateral chapels, c. 1667, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

della Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso. Contributo alla storia dell'ordine fino alla soppressione del 1656"s *Rivista della Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 50 (1996), n. 40, 414.

[15] Leoni, 1598, 12, 22. He notes his own testimony is based on fragments from Padova and Bologna.

[16] Boldù, 1571, 30r, 34v. Notes the destruction of "le scritture dell'antichità" in Bologna in the Spanish invasion of the city, the movement of assets to Venice for safekeeping and the loss of "i più interesanti e secreti documenti del loro istituto" in 1513.

[17] BNM, 150 D. 162, *Constitutiones ordinis fratrum cruciferorum* (Venice, 1587), 29.

[18] ASVat, Misc. Armadio VII, n. 34, f. 31r.

[19] ASVat, Congregazione Stato dei Regolari, 24, cc. 30r, 86r, 95r. The prior of Vicenza notes: "...da immemorabili anni in quà, non essendovi scritture sufficienti di provarlo. At Verona: "Per l'antichità et conseguenze di varij accidenti di Guerre, incendij, et altre ingiurie de tempi, per quali furono disperse le scritture non si può descrivere". At Camerino: "La fondatione d'esso Monasterio non può essere notata perche é cosi antico, che non vi é memoria, e tanto più, quanto che doi legrimevoli incendij occorsi l'uno in Bologna, l'altro in Venetia havevano arsi li due Archivij della singolari della Congregatione".

[20] Lunardon, 79, n. 39. For the Paris plan: Jean Vallery-Radot, *Le Recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus conservé a la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, (Rome, 1960), 93-94, 357, 358-362.

[21] Corner, 1749, II, 174. He was probably referring to that of Boldù.

[22] ASV, PSMsupra, Chiesa, Inventario dattiloscritto 285ter. The earliest document for the Crociferi in this collection dates to 1206. *Buste* containing Crociferi documents: B. 103, fasc. 7-13; B. 104, fasc. 4, fol. a-q; B. 114; B. 115; B. G, fasc. 3-6; B. I, fasc. 2; B. M, fasc. 3-5.

[23] H. Brown, *Venetian Studies* (London, 1887), 178 quoted in J. Pemble, *Venice Rediscovered*, (Oxford, 1996), 74.

[24] G. P. Pacini, "Fra poveri e viandanti ai margini della città: il 'nuovo' ordine ospitaliero dei Crociferi fra secolo XII e XIII" in *Religiones Novae* 2 (1995), 57-85; Pacini, 1996, 399-43; Pacini, "I Crociferi e le comunità ospedaliere lungo le vie dei pellegrinaggi nel Veneto medioevale secoli XII-XIV" in *I percorsi della fede e l'esperienza della carità nel Veneto medioevale, Monselice*, 2001.

[25] BCT, Mss. 474; Pacini, 1996, 402, n. 10, 11.

[26] ASPat, CSM, B. 7.

[27] P. Kehr, "Papsturkunden in Italien. Reiseberichte zur Italia Pontificia 1 (1896-1899)" in *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, 1 (1977), S. 518; K. Baaken, "Papsturkunden für die Crociferi" in *Ex ipsis documentis. Beiträge zur Mediävistik Festschrift H. Zimmermann zum 65* (Sigmaringen, 1991), 331-343. See App. I.

[28] ASV, PsM, B. 1, fasc. 1. The earliest document dates to 1642.

[29] App. X.

[30] ASV, SDC, B. 33, filza 173. F. Masè, *Patrimoines immobiliers ecclésiastiques dans la*

Venise médiévale (XI-XV siècle) (Rome, 2006), 16.

[31] Da Mosto, 1940, 27 and M. F. Tiepolo, *Guida generale degli archivio di Stato Italiani* (Rome, 1994), IV, 261, 749.

[32] *Constitutiones*, 1587.

[33] Domenico Lovisa, *Veduta del Campo de Giesuiti*, engraving, 1717, BMC, Stampe A. 10, tav. 45; Canaletto, *Campo dei Gesuiti*, 1730–35, Milan, Private Collection; Antonio Visentini, *Area PP. Societatis Jesu cum eorum Templo dal dipinto di A. Canaletto*, engraving, 1742, BMC, Stampe E. 36, Tav. 38; Gabriel Bella, *Il gioco del pallone ai Gesuiti*, c. 1779, Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Venice.

[34] ASV, PsM, B. 13, c. 1667; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Hd-4d, 72. Floorplan of the church and adjacent buildings (before 1667). BN, Hd-4a, 250. Floorplan for the proposal of the addition of two lateral chapels, 1667.

[35] App. II.

[36] App. III.

CLETVS PP
INSTITVTOR
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I

History of the Order

It is appropriate to provide a brief history of the Crociferi, not only because so little is known about it, but also because the Crociferi themselves became hyper-aware of their past during the sixteenth century, something that has implications for the art they commissioned. There was increasing pressure from Rome to reform monastic life in the wake of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the Crociferi had more than the average order for which to atone. Rampant disobedience and internal abuses of power in the mid-Quattrocento resulted in the imposition of strict disciplinary measures that were still in place well into the Cinquecento. These punitive efforts seemed to right the order, if only temporarily, and there is evidence that the Crociferi made efforts to publicise this in a variety of ways. There is a sense that the written histories of Marc'Antonio Boldù and Benedetto Leoni, as well as the published version of the reformed Crociferi constitution, were conceived as public affirmations of what the Crociferi viewed as their rebirth. A major component of their campaign to assert their reformed status involved stressing the longevity of the order, the illustrious nature of its beginnings and of its supporters through history. Significantly, these authors, as well as those responsible for formulating the new constitution, were all Venetian. It is critical to remember that the narrative of the foundation and development of

11. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pope Cletus Institutes the Crociferi Order*, c.1590, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice (see also fig. 78)

the order passed down to us was filtered through individuals with an agenda to rehabilitate their image. Their testimony is therefore all the more valuable because it provides insight into what was clearly the accepted and propagated version of their origins. I argue that Palma il Giovane's narrative cycles for the sacristy and oratory of the church were conceived by the *frati*—Boldù and Leoni among them—as a visual parallel to the published histories. The specifics of Palma's cycle will be discussed in following chapters, but the images will be useful here to illustrate this history of the order.

Foundation, Development and Dispersion

Benedetto Leoni succinctly articulates the legendary origins of his order thus:

> "The blessed Cletus, as vicar of Christ (St. Cletus, third pope of Rome created the year 80) zealously encouraged followers of Christ to make a practice of visiting the relics of martyrs, and in particular those of Peter and Paul. On the way, passing from city to city, he prompted them to build hospitals in many different places, but particularly in Rome, where they set up a house near the Rione, called Vicopraticio and then built a church dedicated to San Matteo in Merulana where they based their charity work and hospitalling. And it was as a result of his example that they always took in hand the cross in memory of the Passion. Their survival during the Roman persecutions was made difficult, but their efforts were revived by the restoration of Cyriacus, bishop of Jerusalem, during the time in which St. Helena found the wood of the three crosses (which the brothers later adopted as their symbol)".[1]

Linking their foundation to Cletus and the early years of the papacy was of central concern to the Crociferi: it is expressed twice by Palma, once in the oratory and again in the sacristy (figs. 11-13). In both cases, Cletus receives a group of kneeling pilgrims. In the sacristy painting he hands them a small wooden cross, from that point forward taken as their symbol. Their attachment to the cross is further explained through a second picture in the sacristy cycle depicting St. Helena's discovery of the True Cross in 351 A.D, aided by her "guida hebreo", Judas Cyriacus, who directed her to the crosses, was converted and awarded the Bishopric of Jerusalem, the guise in which we find him depicted by Palma (figs. 12-14).[2] In his capacity as bishop, Cyriacus aided the fledgling Crociferi in the Holy Land, and thus was honoured as one of their principal saints.[3]

With good reason, modern scholars have considered the timing of this foundation story dubious. It arose initially out of what was surely a misinterpretation of twelfth-century documents officially recognizing the order, which character-

12. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Cyriacus Reconfirms the Crociferi*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice, (detail, see fig. 101)

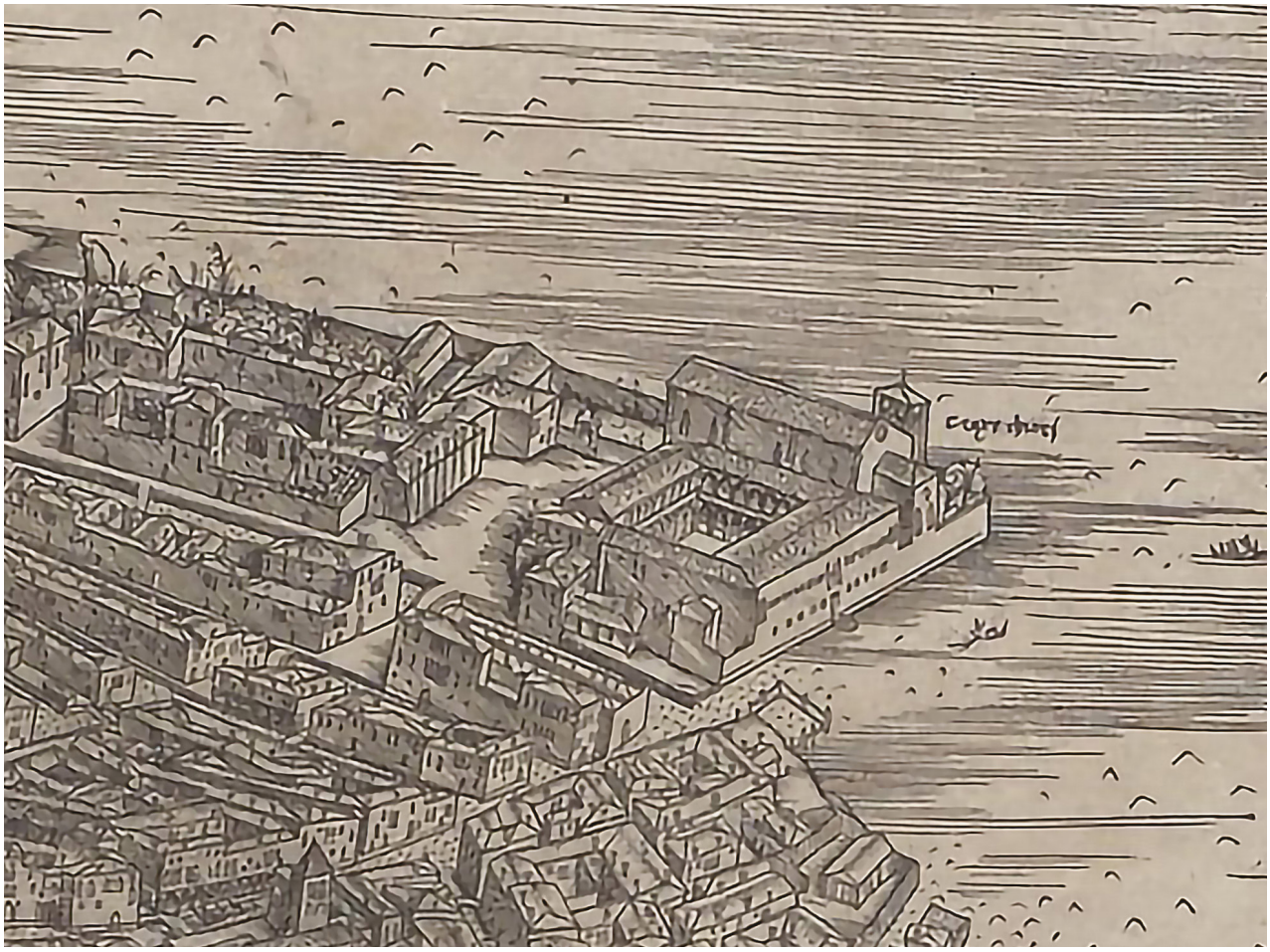
ized the group of laymen as followers of the "disciplinam Cleti".[4] Pacini correctly characterizes Cletus as a person "stranamente trascurato dalla storiografia",[5] having taken on legendary proportions in oral and written accounts of the order, perhaps not surprisingly, written by Boldù and Leoni. These Venetian authors were steeped

13. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pope Cletus Institutes the Crociferi Order*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice (detail, see fig. 101)

14. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Helena and Cyriacus Discover the True Cross*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

15 Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pope Alexander III Confirms the Rule of the Crociferi*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice (detail, see fig. 102)

in the tradition of foundation myths, and, at a time when the order's value was called into question, they would have been keenly aware of the legitimization that accompanied the alignment of a community with important Christian events and individuals. The Crociferi were making no small claim by crediting their foundation to the third pope of Rome, only two permutations from the living Christ, around the year 80 AD. This illustrious history is further embellished by the association with Cyriacus, who tidily connects them to the finding of the True Cross, and therefore the first moments of the blossoming of the Christian faith.[6] In reality, the founder was



16 Jacopo de'Barbari, Detail of the Church and Campo dei Crociferi (detail, see fig. 5)

likely a random crusader, the namesake of Cletus, rather than the actual saint, but it is clear that throughout their history the Crociferi celebrated Pope Cletus as their founder.[7] The foundation is more securely dated to last half of the twelfth century, with the official recognition of the Crociferi by Alexander III in 1160.[8] Palma communicates their new organisation through the uniform brown dress of the brothers—as opposed to the variety of dress in the previous scenes (fig. 15). The bull of Alexander III underscored the important function of the Crociferi as administers of care to the sick and poor and established that they would adhere to a rule of life akin to that of Augustine.[9]

By 1187 the Crociferi had already realized a rapid expansion into many territories, not just on the Italian peninsula, but also into England, Germany, the Netherlands, and particularly in the Levant. They were established outside the walls of Ancona as early as 1162, Vicenza in 1167, Padua in 1163 and Verona in 1170.[10] A bull issued by Gregory IX in 1228 listed over 56 Crociferi hospitals, the bulk of which were dedicated to the

Virgin who was clearly the main focus of Crociferi devotion. By the end of the century there were over 120 Crociferi houses in Italy, and another 200 hospitals in European countries, including the island of Crete, Syria, Bohemia, the Low Countries, France and Portugal.[11] Santa Maria del Morello at Bologna became the motherhouse under Clement IV (1265-1268), with the Venetian house taking on a role of secondary importance, not only because of its size, but because it was well-positioned to oversee the order's outposts in dependent territories and the East.[12] For the better part of the order's existence, the Venetian Crociferi managed at least twelve dependent monastic communities: Vicenza, Verona, Conegliano, Padua, Trent, Candia, Tergesteo, Pola, Portogruaro, Desio, Burghetto and Valle Urbana.[13] The particular brand of assistance the Crociferi offered was ideally matched to both the needs and values of the Venetian Republic, a welfare state with a social conscience, a distaste for vagrancy, a transient population and an ideal natural environment for the spread of disease.

Crosecchieri di Venezia

The Crociferi, known in Venice by the dialectical form, Crosecchieri (or Crocichieri) arrived in Venice around 1155, preceding the official recognition of their order by Alexander III. As per their habit of establishing themselves on the urban periphery, in this city without walls they built their community in a relatively uninhabited and "*paludoso*" location on the edge of the lagoon (fig. 16).[14]

The 1360 chronicle of Andrea Dandolo was the first to record their arrival, assigning the foundation of the church to 1154. He asserted that a Venetian named Cleto Grausoni provided the land, conflating the founder of the order with the founder of the Venetian church.[15] Subsequent authors name Pietro Grausoni (Gussoni), whose existence in these years can be confirmed with relative confidence from a Trecento history of the Gussoni family.[16] An approximate foundation date of 1150 has been generally accepted ever since.[17] The Gussoni were an important patrician family who resided in this area as early as the Duecento, and made sizable charitable bequests that changed the face of this neighbourhood, founding Santa Sofia and evidently contributing to Santa Caterina.[18] The Gussoni history notes that the nuns of Santa Caterina soon found themselves displaced by the overwhelming local support the Crociferi attracted from the *nobili*, *cittadini* and *popolo* for their life "onestissima et anzi santa" and their "austerezze e fervorose virtù".[19] A subsequent donation was made to the Crociferi around 1170 by a descendent of Pietro, Bonsaver Gussoni, "vigne e possessioni situate nei distretti di Chioggia e Pelestrina", properties which the 1564 *condizione* confirm were still in their possession centuries later.[20] The Gussoni therefore assumed a role that many noble

17 Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pope Pius II Assigns the Crociferi their Reformed Habit*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice (detail, see fig. 102)

families exercised over parish and monastic churches, handing down the tradition of patronage from one generation to the next.[21] Indeed, there is evidence that close ties between the Crociferi and this family endured. The surname Gussoni appears in several of the registers of the names of *frati* present in the monastery, a Teodoro Gussoni served as prior during sixteenth century, and a letter of 27 October 1556 written by the Venetian prior reports the death of a member of the Gussoni family and the involvement of the Crociferi in his funeral "alla parte del debito nostro alli molti oblighi che ha il monastero nostro con quella Eccellentissima et Illustrissima casa".[22] Finally, obligations for masses in honour of this family were recorded in the 1656 inventory as outstanding for the Gussona family.[23]

In 1186 Urban III granted the Crociferi permission to build a church dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin.[24] This first church and its adjacent hospital were probably, like most of this period, constructed of wood.[25] These structures were extremely susceptible to fire, and indeed, this first church was consumed in 1214.[26] Particularly during the first decades of the duecento, the Crociferi played a key role in Venetian society, further endearing their order to the Republic by following doge Enrico Dandolo to the Fourth Crusade. Bronze horses were not

the only things brought back to Venice; the hospital cared for the less glamorous byproducts of Dandolo's war: wounded crusaders and sick pilgrims.[27]

The Crociferi acquired further prestige through their connection to a Duecento doge, Renier Zen (1253-1268). A document of 1254 bears the signature of "Rainerius Geno, Dei Gratia Dux, avocator S. Mariae".[28] Zen, who had been elected doge the previous year, was a member of one of the oldest families in Venice.[29] He owned a palazzo in the campo dei Crociferi, which is probably how he came to be associated with the monastery. The position of lay protector was one established by the early Crociferi to serve the very purpose it did in this case: to associate the order with a person of influence who would intercede on their behalf.[30] Zen's election as doge afforded him even greater capacity to do so, and indeed, he used his sway to furnish the church with the recently translated relics of St. Barbara in 1256.[31] In death the wealthy doge provided a sizeable bequest that made the hospital a bona fide institution, and ultimately facilitated its existence beyond the survival of the order itself.[32]

As a result of the financial security the *commissaria* Zen afforded, the Crociferi were able to reinvent themselves in two phases over the course of the Quattrocento. As demand for hospitallers decreased, they shifted their charitable focus toward caring for 30-40 sick, and mid-century became an *ospizio* for 12 elderly widows.[33] Crociferi in other cities were less responsive to the social changes that altered their purpose, and a period of decadence took hold throughout the order. Such crises were experienced by many mendicant orders as a result of the complications new material wealth, rapid growth and social change brought to their way of life. Both Boldù and Leoni report on this moment of decline, of the "miserie interne", which would ultimately lead to the ruin of the order.[34]

18 Odoardo Fialetti, *Crocigeri* from *De gli habiti delle religioni con le armi, e breve descrittion loro* (Venice: Marco Sadeler, 1626)

Because one of the more obvious signs of disobedience was the relaxation of costume, Pius II assigned a new habit to the Crociferi in 1464. The wooden cross that each brother carried became silver, and the original grey habit was replaced with one of turquoise.[35] Palma illustrates this change in the far left of the sacristy painting depicting Pius II (fig. 17).

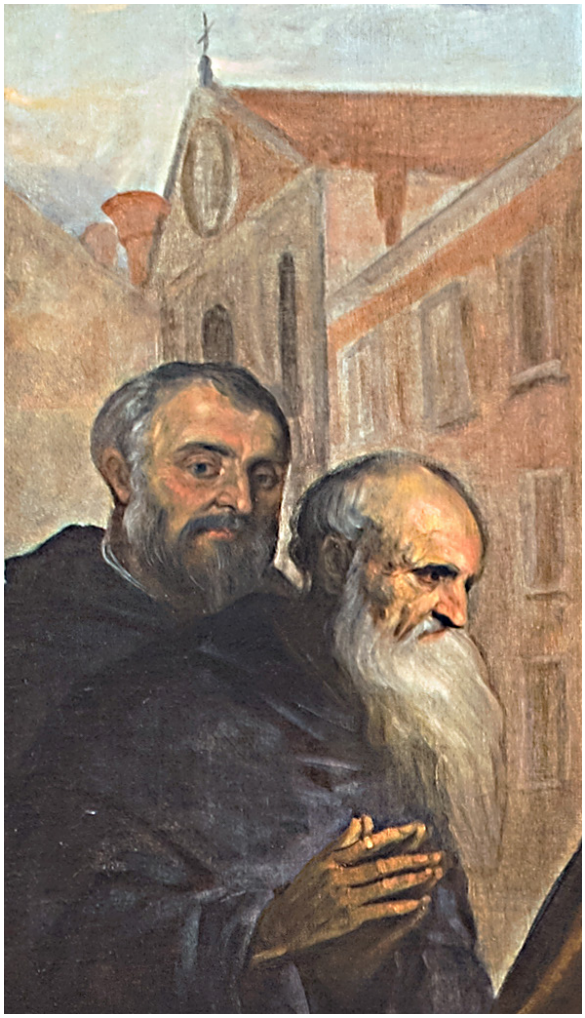
A further measure for reform was taken by assigning cardinal *commendatori* to oversee restoring order to each of the rogue monasteries.[36] The first *commendatore* of the Venetian monastery was Pietro Barbo, the future Paul II. When he was elected pope shortly after taking up this position, the learned Cardinal Bessarion was his successor.[37] An *istromento* of 1469 between Bessarion (also papal legate to Venice) and the Crociferi confirms his involvement with the monastery.[38] The next recorded *commendatore* was Cardinal Giovanni Michiel, who assumed the role as early as 1481. It can safely be assumed that nepotism secured the commendam for Michiel, as his uncle was Pietro Barbo. It is tempting to make a further connection between these individuals and yet another in their circle: Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zen. Zen, who belonged to the same line of the illustrious family descendant from Renier, was also the nephew of the Barbo pope and cousin to Michiel.[39] Given the longstanding connection between the Zen and the monastery, this may be another instance in which family influence was used to aid the Crociferi.

During the final years of the fifteenth century, the Crociferi gained another important advocate in Alvise Dardani, who would go on to be elected Grand Chancellor. This position, created during the dogate of Renier Zen, was a governmental role of chief importance. It was the only position of such authority open to members of the Republic's vast citizen class of which he would essentially act as head.[40] Beginning in 1472, Dardani occupied the role of lay protector, although his association with the Crociferi seems to have dated back to his youth. In the record of the 1446 election of a prioress of the hospital, Dardani is listed as "D. Ludovicum de Dardanis procuratorem et sindicum".[41] Throughout his tenure as advocate Dardani was largely preoccupied with resolving a misappropriation of funds meant for the hospital by the Procuratori di San Marco de Citra, to which documents of 1472 attest. It was also in his capacity as protector that Dardani oversaw, and perhaps even initiated, a project to rebuild the old church around 1490, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

The *commenda* was still in effect in 1556, the year in which the Republic began to actively intervene on behalf of the Crociferi in an attempt to restore their autonomy. Following a report of indiscipline observed on a visit to the monastery by the Master General, a *breve* was sent

19. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pope Paul IV Issues a Breve to a Venetian Ambassador*, c. 1590, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice (see also figs. 88, 172)

PAVLVS.PP
REI MEMORIA IN TVITV SER
DVCIS ET DOMINII VENET
P FORVM ORATOREM



20. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pope Paul IV Issues a Breve to a Venetian Ambassador* (detail, see fig. 19)

which put the house under the control of the Generale and robbed the Venetian Crociferi of the unique privileges they had always enjoyed, including the right for their prior to deal independently with economic and disciplinary issues. Doge Francesco Venier, via ambassador Bernardo Navagero, convinced Paul IV to lift the restrictions.[42] This incident is reflective of the constant struggle to maintain the sensitive balance of power between Rome and Venice, which closely guarded its autonomy, particularly regarding ecclesiastical matters. Compromises frequently had to be reached, and it was probably just this sort of politics that sustained and protected the Venetian Crociferi until the last. This resolution, involving the direct intercession of a doge and the concession of a pope, was celebrated as a victory in the eyes of the Crociferi. Indeed, they saw fit to advertise it amongst important events of the order's history depicted by Palma in the oratory cycle (figs. 19–20). Through the intervention of the Republic, Pius V finally abolished the *commenda* in 1568, deeming the Crociferi to have returned to sufficient discipline.[43] In 1571, Boldù credited their reform to the "saggio et diligenze governo de suoi presenti Retori".[44] A new beginning was signalled at the Capitolo Generale of 1581 in Venice, at which a committee was appointed to revise the constitution to account for the decrees of the Council of Trent and an ongoing need to remain vigilant against indiscipline. Master General Francesco Fossano appointed four high-ranking brothers, all of whom were Venetian, or were based in Venice: Giuliano Cirno, Camillo Cremaschi, Stefano Leoni, and Ottaviano Semitecolo.[45] This was perhaps because somehow the Venetian monastery and its Veneto dependents flourished, while those elsewhere would continue to struggle with disobedience and depleted membership. Throughout the century it was consistently the largest, filled to capacity with well over 50 Crociferi, while even Santa Maria del Morello, the moth-

erhouse at Bologna, only maintained 24. Verona was the next largest with 10 *religiosi*, followed by Vicenza with 9, Conegliano with 8, and Padua with 7.[46]

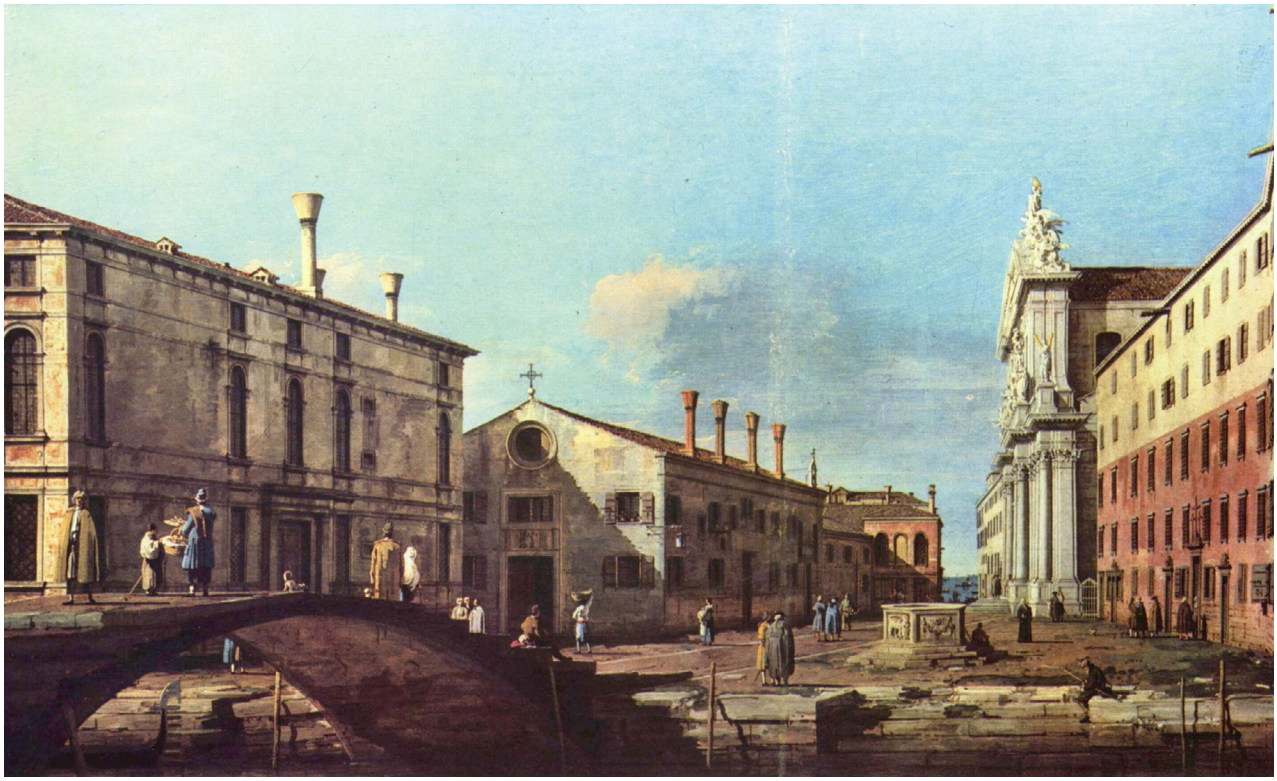
The population of the Venetian house was equal to or exceeded that of other major Venetian monasteries. In 1564 there were 59 inhabitants, comparable to San Francesco della Vigna, occupied by 60 Franciscans, or San Giobbe, with 49.[47] Numerous archival sources reveal that the Crociferi consistently maintained *frati* bearing the most important and ancient family names of the Libro d'oro.[48] In many cases it can be determined that membership to the order was a sort of family affair; Crociferi who were brothers, cousins, nephews and surely many illegitimate sons can be traced across multiple generations. In the list of expenses for the church in the 1564 *condizione*, an intriguing addition is made which suggests the monastery was the chosen destination of gentlemen during the Holy Week, at which time they would live amongst the brothers.[49]

Given the lively and learned atmosphere the Crociferi cultivated, it is understandable why the monastery appealed to a patrician audience, steeped as they generally were in secular pursuits. An ambience the Venetian Crociferi clearly provided—with greater than average latitude and access to the sorts of pursuits to which a patrician male might be accustomed—would have been an attractive option to those for whom a religious calling was not the driving force behind their entry into monastic life. Indeed, at the time of suppression one of the nuncio's main complaints was that the monastery remained "ripiena di persone mal nate".[50]

In 1591 Master General Benedetto Leoni published a commentary on the revised constitution in which he acknowledges the success of the "utilissime" reforms, but suggests ways in which the order might move toward an even more rigorous existence. Clearly from the perspective of the highest-ranking member of the order, there was still instability, an ongoing need to stabilize and reorganise, warning signs of what the next century would bring.

Suppression

From about 1605, various popes began to make efforts to reduce the number of Crociferi monasteries, suppressing those that had too few brothers to warrant their independence.[51] By the time Innocent X ordered the review of the state of Italian *religiosi* in March of 1649, the Crociferi were already nearly extinct. Thirty monasteries had closed during the last decade of the sixteenth century; their houses were reduced to just 25, over a quarter of those remaining were in Venetian territory. The pope's inquiry led to major suppressions in 1653, which further reduced Crociferi monasteries from 25 to 5: Bologna, Venice, and their dependents in Verona, Vicenza and Bergamo.[52] Although



21. Canaletto, *Campo dei Gesuiti*, 1730-1735, private collection, Milan (see also figs. 53, 203)

the motherhouse was still Bologna, it had been all but abandoned, and even the Master General lived permanently in Venice.[53]

It was no coincidence that four of the remaining five houses were under Venetian control. In its typical fashion, the Republic continued to defend the *conventini* under its jurisdiction, refusing to enforce the suppressions decreed by the papacy.[54] Beyond financial concerns, this decision was based on the fact that the Venetian government viewed these monasteries as a refuge for poor nobility.[55] Indeed, the Venetian house was still home to 53 Crociferi, while three remained at Bologna, and their income was five times the size of any of the remaining monasteries.[56]

A stalemate of roughly two years ensued, during which the Republic was embroiled in a war against the Turks in its territory of Candia (1647-1669). It was almost certainly due to the financial strain of this conflict that the Senate instructed their ambassador in Rome to initiate a dialogue with the papacy in January of 1656 regarding the implications of conceding to the suppressions. The new pontiff, Alexander VII, was also keen to banish these quasi-extinct orders, and an agreement was reached between the two parties, each having a caveat. Venice wanted to keep the profits yielded from the sale of the monastic houses to fund their war, and the papacy wanted the Republic to readmit the Jesuits, who had

been banished in 1606.[57]

From January to April of 1656 the details of the suppression were negotiated with the help of the Venetian ambassador to Rome and the papal nuncio Carlo Carafa. In February 1656 the orders under consideration for suppression were announced:

> "una delle prime può esser la Religion de Cruciferi come ripiena di persone mal nate, e ch'è fatta depositaria de gl'effetti del vizio".[58]

Carafa concurred, writing to Rome:

> "...si mantigono da Cinquanta Religiosi nessuno di quali si vivi coll'osservanza o disciplina regolare, ma al contrario si trova in tutti tanta relassationi, che non è quasi alcuno di questi Padri, che non habbia qualchi figlio nato di mal prattica. A questo loro modo di vivere, che causa generalm[ent]e grandissimo scandalo s'aggionge anco un'ignoranza cosi estrima".[59]

Carafa listed amongst their transgressions an offensive relaxation of costume, and expressed shock at having found no mass being said the day before on account of the fact that every brother had slept outside of the monastery. In March Carafa and three Procuratori Deputati elected by the Senate initiated the inventories of the beni of the Crociferi church (and of Santo Spirito in Isola, which was also suppressed).[60] The estimated worth of the entire group of properties was about one million ducats.[61] In light of the arrangement the Republic had made to receive the profit from the sale of the properties, the enormous value of these buildings, full of important works of art, cannot have been a small factor in this decision to allow the suppression of these particular monasteries. Santo Spirito alone had two altarpieces and a series of three ceiling paintings by Titian, and the Crociferi church was not far behind with its cache of important works from the previous century. In a letter of 1 April 1656, Carafa reported that the Crociferi, clearly aware of impending doom, had resolved to divide the "sacri suppellittili" amongst themselves.[62]

On 28 April 1656, two bulls of suppression were issued for the Crociferi and the Canons of Santo Spirito. The Crociferi complex did not remain empty for long. As early as May of 1656, the brothers of Cardinal Vidman had expressed interest in buying the majority of the beni of both Santo Spirito and the Crociferi, but their offer was rejected as too low.[63] The pope's stipulation that the Jesuits be readmitted went to vote in the Venetian Senate in January of 1657. The request was passed after an animated debate, and when the question arose of where to put them, the ample double cloister of the Crociferi monastery seemed an ideal option. In early March of 1657 Carafa took an offer of forty thousand ducats to the Senate, but it was rejected. He reports that some agitators took to the piazza, claiming that even one hundred thousand

ducats would not be adequate.[64] Carafa suggested a compromise of fifty thousand silver ducats, and ultimately the offer was accepted.[65] Even Carafa knew the Jesuits were getting a fairly handsome deal. He wrote to Rome:

> "...le fabriche formano un Isola bellissima et molta grande.....perche conoscono effettivamente il sito assai vasto, in ottima e più salubri parti dilla Città con fabbriche molto grandi, e dalle parti di magazeni proportionamente ad essere ridotti con non gran' spesa informa di Collegio con Cortile e Scuole commodissimi. Essendo certo, che il prezzo é stato piutosto dolce, che rigoroso, e che grande la congiuntura non havessi fatto trovasi questo luoco vacuo in cent' anni se con la spesa di 150 ducati non havev[--] mai potuto arrivare á fabbricarsi quella commodità che trovano adesso nil primo giorno del loro ingresso per li detti 50 ducati, che vien[-] assorbito, anzi di gran lunga superato dal solo valori della Chiesa, Sagristia e mobili Sacri".[66]

Indeed, the church was more or less ready to be used, but by the turn of the eighteenth century the structure was over two hundred years old and showing its age. By some accounts it was rotting and dangerous, and it did not suit the tastes or needs of its new occupants.[67] They wanted more space for their scholastic endeavours and a church that would reflect their exuberant spirituality. A generous offer by the influential Friulian Manin family in 1710 presented them with the opportunity to make it their own. Two decades later there was little trace of the old complex, and much of the surrounding campo had been altered to accommodate the new plan (fig. 17). Further alterations were made after the fall of the Republic, when the cloister was used as barracks for Napoleon's troops. So it was that the last traces of the Crociferi church slipped away.

[1] Leoni, 1598, 11.

[2] L. Contarini, *Il vago e dilettevole giardino*, (Vicenza, 1589), 417; J. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden, 1992), 165-180.

[3] Leoni, 1598, 14-16.

[4] Pacini, 1996, 399 and Pacini, 2002, 155.

[5] Pacini, 1996, n.3, 399.

[6] P. Morigia, *Historia dell'Origine di tutte le religioni*, 1576, 69-70.

[7] Lunardon, 20; Pacini, 1995, 57.

[8] F. Corner, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia* (Padua, 1758), 302; G. Moroni Romano, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1842), v. 17-18, 303.

[9] Pacini, 1995, 67.

[10] Pacini, 1995, 61, 67; Pacini, 2000, 158-160; ASVat, CSR, 25, c. 86r.

[11] Leoni, 1598, 19r; Pacini, 1995, 73; Lunardon, 21.

[12] Leoni, 1598, 16r. Leoni talks about the extension of the religion into the east, naming the monasteries of Santo Spirito d'Accone, San Giuliano di Cipro in Nicosia, Santa Maria di Negroponte, San Nicolò di Agiocrodio, also of Negroponte, Santa Maria Acheropita, Sant'Angelo d'Andro, San Michele de Saga. The monastery in the Venetian territory of Candia was also under the control of the Venetian house. Extensive documentation for the monastery in Candia survives in the ASV, PSMsupra, Comm., BB. 103, 104.

[13] *Constitutiones*, 1587, 44-45.

[14] D. Howard, *The architectural history of Venice*, Rev. ed. (New Haven, 2002), 76. In this respect the Crociferi conformed to the general pattern for mendicant settlements in Venice.

[15] A. Danduli, *Chronica per estensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello, in RIS.2, XII/1, (Bologna, 1938-1958), 246.

[16] Pacini, 1995, 59; ASV, Barbaro, IV, 17, 199-201; ASV, CRS, S. Caterina, B. 21.

[17] Lunardon, 74, n. 3.

[18] W. Dorigo, *Venezia romanica. La formazione della città medioevale fino all'età gotica* (Venice, 2003), II, 793.

[19] G. Cappelletti, *Storia della Chiesa di Venezia* (Venice, 1849-50), 390.

[20] Leoni, 1598, 32. For the mainland possessions: ASV, SDC, B. 33, f. 73.

[21] ASV, Barbaro, IV, 17, 199-201 and IV, 18, 205-206.

[22] ASV, PSMsupra, Comm., B. 104.

[23] ASV, AP, c. 129.

[24] ASV, PSMcitra, B. 23. "Ecclesiam suam quam de novo edificant" in 1186; E. Cicogna, *Corpus delle iscrizioni di Venezia e delle isole della laguna veneta* (Venice, 1824-53), II, 871.

[25] ASV, PSMcitra, B. 233, n. 27, c. 6v.3

[26] Corner, 1749, 174; Corner, 1758, 302.

[27] Pacini, 2000, 162.

[28] ASV, CSR, S. Caterina, B. 21; Corner, 1749, 174-5.

[29] P. Giraldi, *The Zen family (1500-1550),* (unpub. PhD diss., University of London, 1975), 64.

[30] Pacini, 2000, 163.

[31] Corner, 1758, 302-3.

[32] Giraldi, 1975, 68. The Zen made a fortune through the settlement of the east-

ern Mediterranean, leaving Renier a very wealthy man at the time of his death. G. Luzzatto, "Il Patrimonio privato di un doge del secolo XIII", *Ateneo Veneto* 17 (1924), 29-58. His estate totalled 49,000 *lire* and he left the Crociferi vineyards in Istria and sixteen local houses.

[33] M. Frank, *Donne Attempate: Women of a Certain Age in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Art* (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2006), 243.

[34] Leoni, 1598, 19-21. Leoni recalls the existence of "poca obedientia", of brothers going outside the monastery, and even violence.

[35] O. Fialetti, *De gli Habiti delle Religioni con le Armi, e breve Descrittion loro* (Venice, 1626), II, 60.

[36] Pacini, 1996, n. 37, 413; O. Logan, *The Venetian upper clergy in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries* (Salzburg, 1995), 523. "In the monastic sense an abbey was said to be held in commendam when the right of election to the office of abbot was not enjoyed by the chapter, power of nomination being exercised by the Papacy or by a lay patron".

[37] Boldù, 1571, 29r. The principal locations on which the *commenda* was focused were Rome, Naples, Salerno, Bologna, Milan, Ravenna and Venice. Leoni, 1598, 22r; Corner, 1749, II, 176; Corner, 1758, 304.

[38] M. Palmieri, *Historia della translatione del glorioso corpo della Beata Vergine e Martire Santa Barbara di Nicomedia* (Padua, 1643), 22.

[39] S. Fletcher, "The Making of a Fifteenth-Century Cardinal", SV, 31 (1996), 32. Barbo was related to Michiel and Zen through his sisters, Nicolosa and Elisabetta.

[40] *Guida alle magistrature: elementi per la conoscenza della Republica veneta*, eds. Milan, Politi, Vianello (Sommacamagna, 2003), 71-73. The Grand Chancellor was second only to the doge and the Procuratori di San Marco in ceremonial terms and was elected for life. He was the first of the secretaries of each assembly, where he could voice opinions, but not vote.

[41] P. De Peppo, "Memorie di veneti cittadini: Alvise Dardani, Cancellier Grande", SV, 8 (1984), 420; Lunardon, 155-56. P. De Peppo, "Memorie di veneti cittadini: Alvise Dardani, Cancellier Grande", SV, 8 (1984), 420; Lunardon, 155-56.

[42] *I Libri Commemoriali della Republica di Venezia. Regesti*. (Venice, 1903), VI, n. 42, 285 (July 15, 1556).

[43] Corner, 1758, 305.

[44] Boldù, 1571, 29

[45] *Constitutiones*, 1587, 5v; B. Leoni, *Memoriale per la regolare osservanza della congregatione de' Crociferi* (Verona, 1591), 1r-5v.

[46] Leoni, 1591, 5r.

[47] ASV, SDC, B. 33, f. 173.

[48] For example: Badoer, Barbarigo, Barbaro, Boldù, Bondumier, Cicogna, Contarini, Donà, Dolfin, Gradenigo, Gussoni, Leoni, Malipiero, Michiel, Mocenigo, Pasqualigo, Pisani, Querini, Trissino, Tron, Vinciguerra, Zen.

[49] ASV, SDC, B. 33, f. 173, c. 11. "Per spese

si fano la settimana s[an]ta In chiesa, et per molti gentil'huomini, che si retirano qui a viver con li p[ad]ri' nelli giorni santi neliqual giorni per la lungeza di offij, é necessario far magior spesa in viver del'ordinario".

[50] ASV, DispR, B. 139, c. 65v-66r.

[51] Pacini, 1996, 408.

[52] Corner, 1758, 305; Cappelletti, 1855, 396; Pacini, 1996, n. 15, 404.

[53] Santa Maria del Morello di Bologna was demolished following the Napoleonic suppressions.

[54] ASV, DispR, f. 134, c. 316v. ASVat, SS, B. 87, 169r-v and B. 281, 47v. On November 2, 1652 Venice sent explicit instructions to their territories not to execute the instruction of the papal constitution without permission of the state. E. Boaga, *La soppressione innocenziana dei piccoli conventi in Italia* (Rome, 1971), 115-18.

[55] P. Pallavicini, *Della vita di Alessandro VII* (Prato, 1839), I, 424.

[56] ASVat, CSR, 24, f. 81. Their income was 5557 scudi romani, while Bologna ranked second with 1334. The Venetian Crociferi administered 2 daily, 31 weekly and 44 monthly masses, 8 anniversaries and 7 daily commemorations.

[57] G. Signorotto, "Venezia e il ritorno dei Gesuiti", *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 28 (1992), 227-317.

[58] ASV, DispR, B. 139, c. 65v-66r.

[59] ASVat, SS, B. 87, c. 169 (4 March 1656).

[60] BNM, Mss. Cod. It. XI, 42 (=6961), *Dispacci di Mons. Carafa nunzio apostolico in Venetia toscani il ritorno de P.P Gesuiti, 1656-7*, 159.

[61] ASV, DispR, B. 139, c. 74v.

[62] ASVat, SS, B. 87, c. 224r.

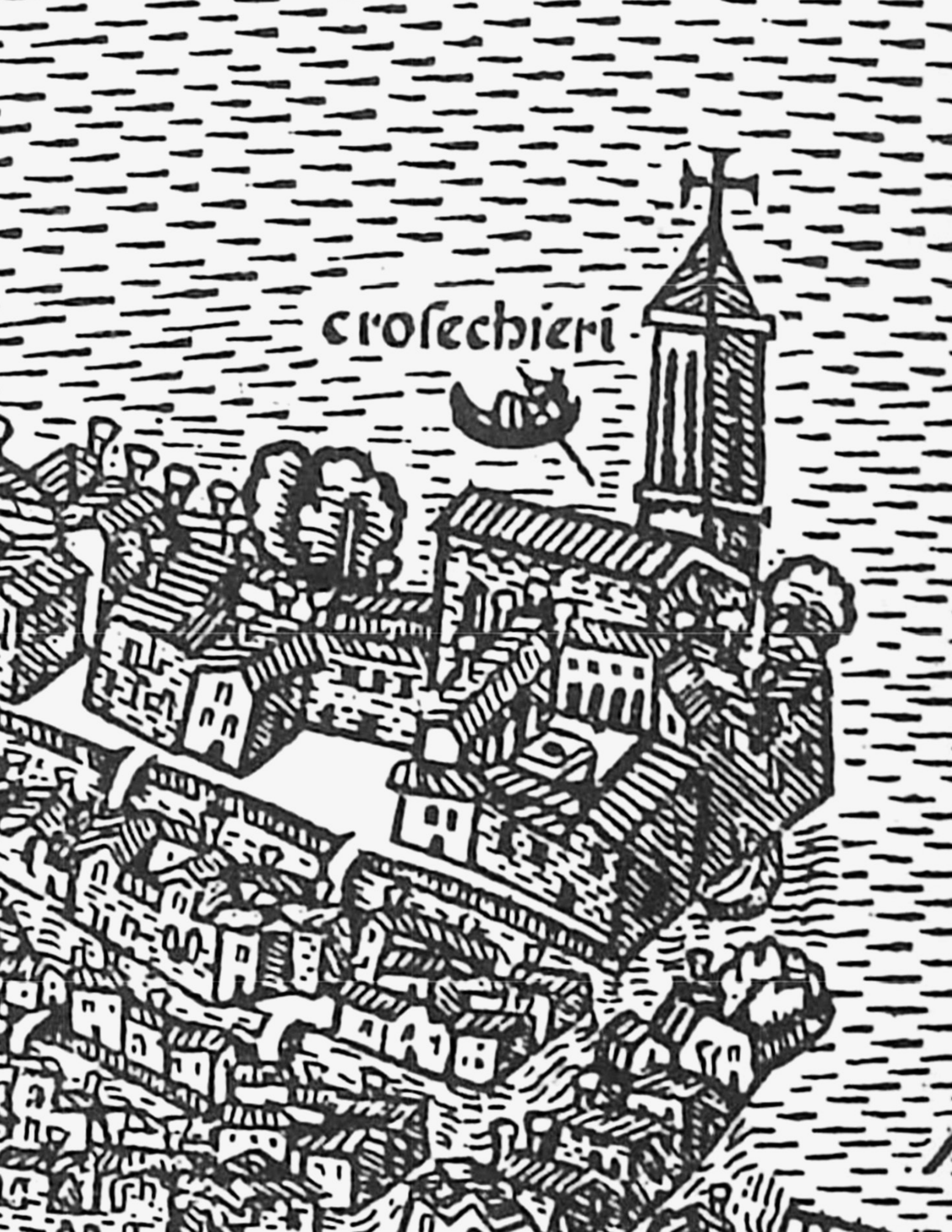
[63] ASVat, SS, B. 281, c. 220r (20 May 1656).

[64] ASVat, SS, B. 89, c. 176r-v.

[65] ASV, DelibR, reg. 60, c. 67r-v (28 February 1656).

[66] ASVat, SS, B. 89, c. 177r-v.

[67] M. Zanardi, "I 'domicilia' o centri operativi della Compagnia di Gesù nello Stato Veneto" in *I Gesuiti e Venezia* (Padua, 1994), 125. Proti for the building project, Domenico Rossi, Domenico Mazzoni and Iseppo Pagan reported on the physical state of the church in May of 1710, noting holes in the walls and ceiling over the nave.


crosechieri

2

The Church

Marin Sanudo recorded the initiation of the rebuilding of the post-1214 church in 1490:

> "In questi zorni la chiesa d'i Crosechieri comenzò a restaurarsi di novo—era vechia—mediante Alvise d'i Dardani lhoro Procur, dovo è il corpo di S. Barbara, al qual fu fato una capella, etiam fo fabrichà di novo il dormitario."[1]

The author of the *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500* offers that sometime between April and August of 1490:

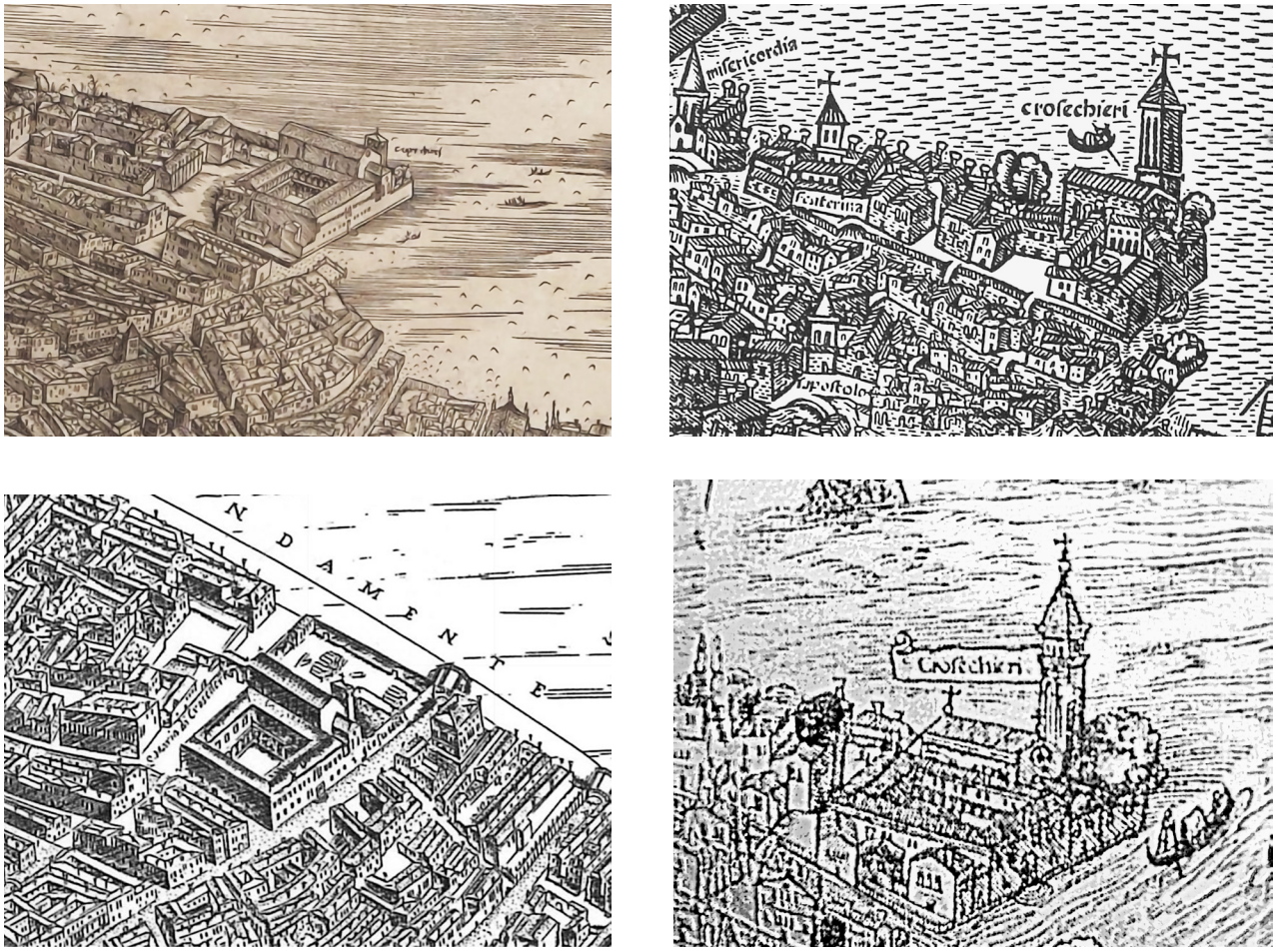
> "Marco Morosini q. Polo, ha restaurò la giesia di Crosechieri, co'l suo dormitorio; e quella de Sant'Andrea de Lido".[2]

Sabellico noted it had been restored sometime before 1494, and elaborated in 1502:

> "il loro monastero vago et lieto pur dianzi procurando Aloisio Dardano è stato edificato, come che di questo luogo la faccia sia antica".[3]

This testimony establishes that the structure Jacopo de' Barbari captured in 1500 was in fact the church that had been newly restored, and that their lay protector Dardani was involved in some capacity (figs. 22-23).[4] Confusion enters into the matter on a number of fronts here. The first thing requiring clarification is

22. Church and Campo dei Crociferi from Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, *Bird's-Eye-View of Venice*, (detail, see fig. 6)



23. Composite details of the Church and Campo dei Crociferi (cloackwise): Jacopo de' Barbari (1500), Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (c. 1525), Matteo Pagan (1559), Giovanni Merlo (1559) (see also figs 5-8)

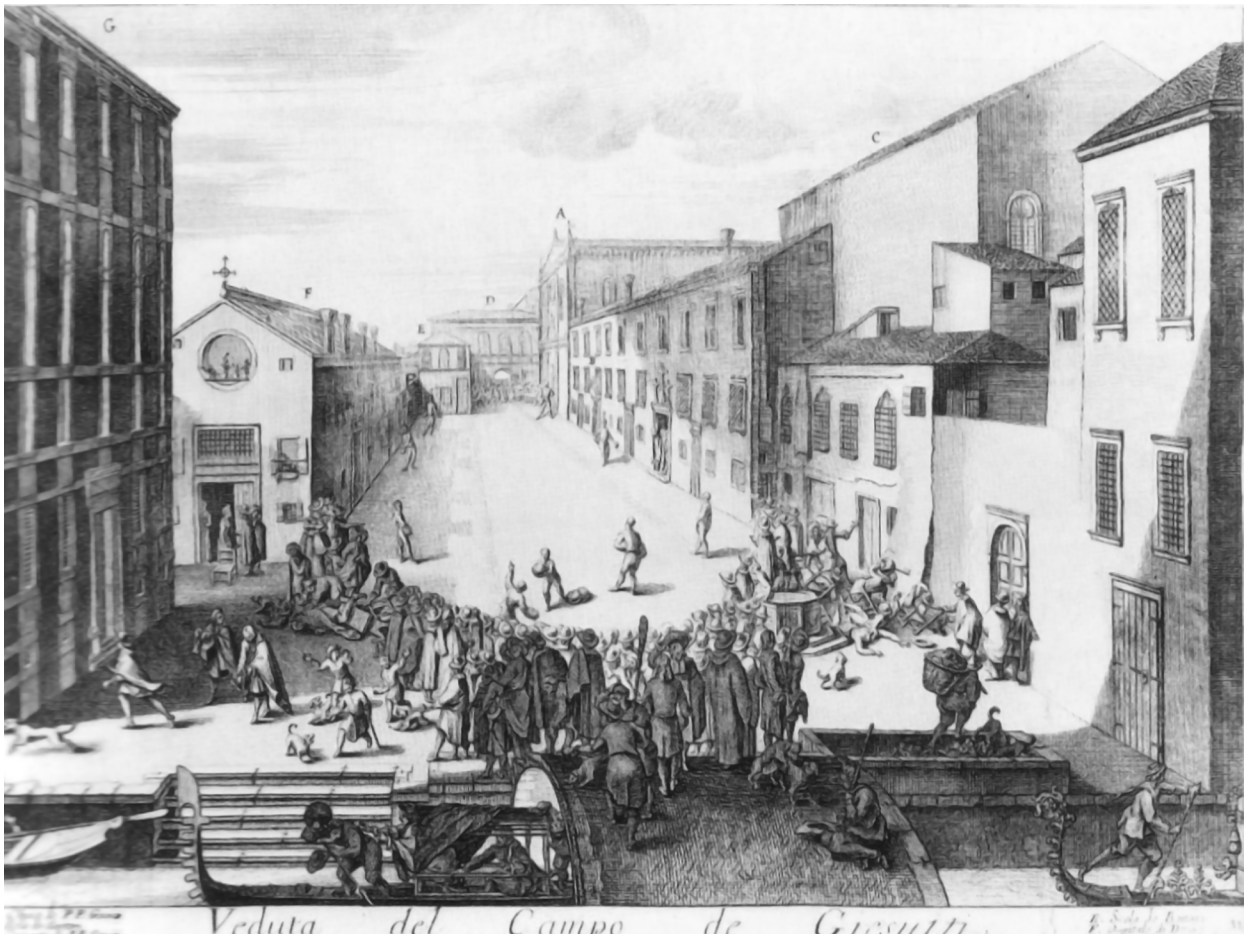
the mention of Marco Morosini in the *Annali*. While Marco Morosini was indeed the wealthy benefactor of the monastery of Sant'Andrea della Certosa, rebuilt about the same time, my research has uncovered no link to the Crociferi.[5] There is no mention of any bequest or association with them in his testament, or in any of the documents concerning his *commissaria*.[6] Since Sanudo also mentions the two renovation projects in close proximity (roughly June or July of 1489), it seems safe to assume that the attribution of the Crociferi renovation to the benevolence of Morosini resulted from an error in the 1564 transcription from the now lost original copy of the *Annali*, which reorganised the information from chronological to thematic order.[7]

Further confusion of the timeline has resulted from Sansovino's frequently repeated assertion that the church was rebuilt after a fire in 1513. Despite the earlier testimony of Sanudo and Sabellico, authors have universally omitted any reference to the 1490 structure, leading to

24. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Votive Painting of Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, (detail, see fig. 72)

an assumption that the building in the Jacopo de' Barbari map was destroyed and replaced after 1513.[8] Yet later perspectival views of the church— those of Vavassore, c. 1535, Pagan, 1559, and especially Merlo, 1660 (fig. 23)—as well as pictorial renderings by Palma il Giovane (fig. 24) and Lovisa (fig. 25), all illustrate a church that is identical to the one depicted in 1500. It is prudent to acknowledge here that many subsequent views were heavily reliant on the 1500 precedent, and did not account for changes in the urban fabric. Comparative analyses have revealed that a number of engravers did endeavour to update their plans, including Merlo, whose 1660 view shows the church more or less as it was 160 years before.

Tragically, there was a fire at the monastery in 1513, the same night as a separate blaze laid waste to the Rialto. In the *Annali* Malipiero relates:



25. Domenico Lovisa, *View of the Campo dei Gesuiti* from *Il gran teatro di Venezia* (Venice: Domenico Lovisa: 1717) (see also figs. 121, 131)

> "Ai 10 Gennajo, ad un'ora di notte, in tempo di furiosissimo vento, prima ai Crocicchieri, poi in Rialto si accese fuoco".[9]

And from the diaries of Marcantonio Michiel:

> "A di 10 Gennajo essendo entrato il fuoco per un cammino nel monastero dei Crocicchieri, bruciò tutto il monastero, eccetto la chiesa, fino ai fondamenti...".[10]

Galliccioli clarifies:

> "arse il Convento, ma non la chiesa de' Crocecchieri".[11]

These accounts indicate that only the monastery, and not the church, was destroyed in the fire.[12] A 1562 *relazione* laments that the fire "consumò il monasterio con tutte le sue scritture e argenti e paramenti della giesia", things that the 1656 inventory confirms were kept in the monastery.[13] This clarifies how some early decoration and the body of Barbara man-

aged to survive, and why a few days after the fire Sanudo was able to report that the saint's head was carried in procession around the smouldering Rialto in an attempt to extinguish the flames with its recently tested preventative powers.[14]

The confusion surrounding the rebuild seems to have emerged from a misreading of original documents, or a failure to consult them at all. Many authors took Sansovino at his word without realising that by 1513 Alvise Dardani had been reposing in his tomb inside the church for several years, thus unable to oversee the post-fire renovation.[15] Neff's suggestion that Dardani's role was simply related to a "substantial" amount of money he left to the Crociferi that was used for the rebuilding is negated by his testament, which made no such provision.[16] The more likely scenario is that Alvise Dardani was to the Crociferi what Marco Morosini was to the Certosa, as Giorgio Emo was to Santi Giovanni e Paolo, and as Bernardo Navagero was to the parish of San Giovanni in Bragora: a powerful lay protector who contributed funds in life and/or presided over a project of reconstruction.[17]

It is hard to know how the 1490 renovations were made possible, if not from a private contribution from Dardani or another wealthy patron.[18] Still in *commenda*, the Crociferi would not have been in a position to fund such a project independently, as Dardani's own testimony regarding their dire financial situation reveals.[19] Indeed, finances prohibited a speedy restoration of the cloister, which was enlarged in the classical style, but not complete until 1543, when an engraved stone was placed to mark the occasion.[20]

Architectural Form: Exterior

Judging from the size of the structure depicted in the various engraved and painted images of the church in relation to others that survive, the Crociferi must have been of substantial dimension.[21] It was bigger than the Madonna dell'Orto and smaller than Santi Giovanni e Paolo, but only by perhaps a third. Sanudo named it as among the most "grande e bellissime" of churches of Venice, joining others that have survived to be regarded as the most splendid in the city.[22] The ample two-storey cloister extended off the right side of the façade and extended the entire length of the sizeable campo[23], and a Romanesque campanile flanked the church.[24] A walled area between the bell tower and the edge of the Rio del Tasetto di Murano was a garden.[25]

Because several ground plans of the original church exist, some conclusions can be reached about its actual dimensions. An overlay of the Crociferi ground plan with that of the present church of the Gesuiti composed by architects Stefano Bortolussi and Antonio Mazzeri has produced a rough estimate of the original size: it was approximately 17m wide

and 50m long (fig. 27).[26] Judging from these estimates, we can surmise that the height was probably about double the width of the church, or about 35m.

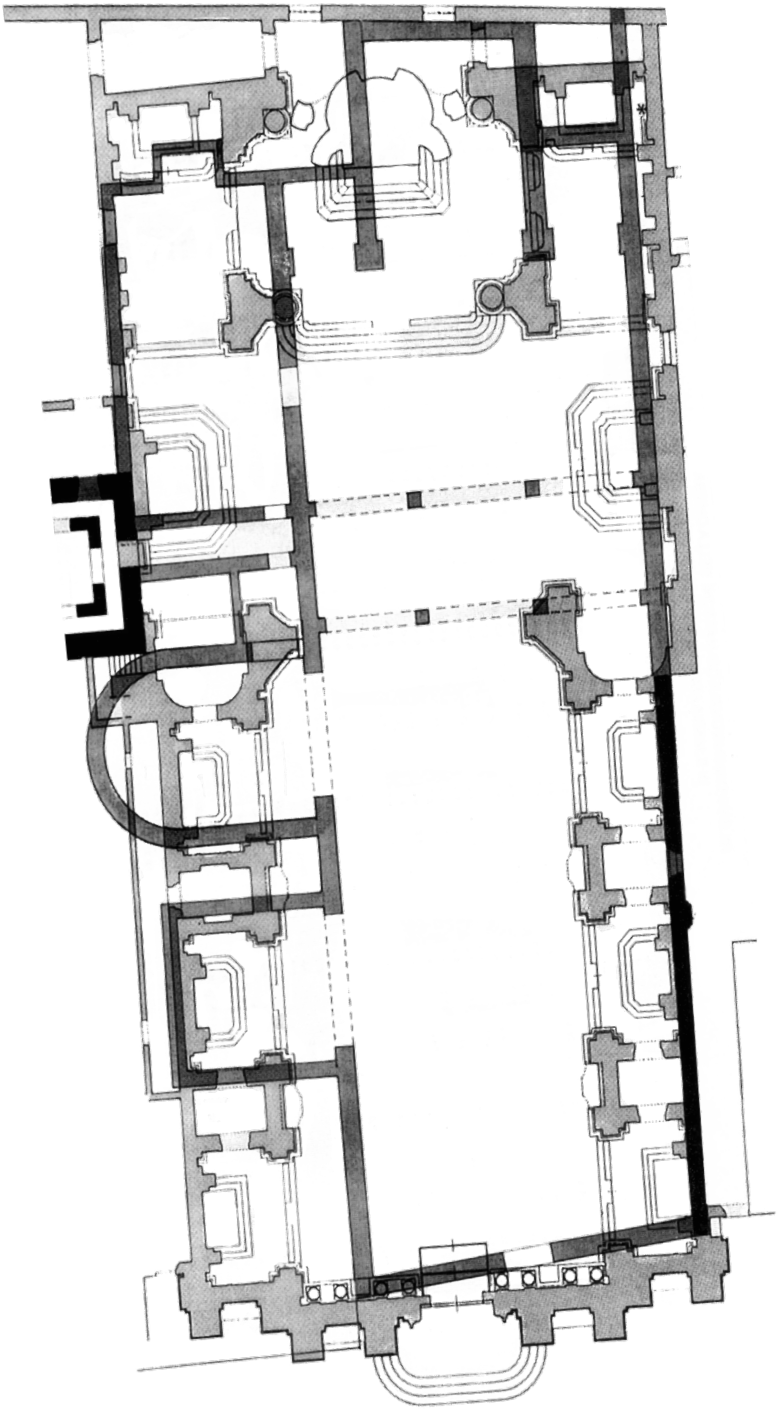
The church was a barn-like structure—"a capanna"—consisting of a single large nave (lacking side aisles or clerestory) and was constructed from brick.[27] A square chancel extended off the body of the church and reached toward the edge of the canal. Dorigo incorrectly stated that there were no chapels; two extended off the left side of the church, an angle that is not accommodated by the perspective of the engraved views. There were no chapels on the right side of the church, presumably due to the placement of the adjacent cloister. The church was lit by six lancet windows which punctuated the flanks, as well as a large oculus window placed centrally just below the roofline on the façade, flanked by two further lancet windows. Another oculus window was similarly positioned at the liturgical east end of the church, with a second at the altar wall of the chancel, again flanked by two lancet windows.

We can see from the ground plan that the façade ran on an angle, flush with the adjacent buildings that we can still observe *in situ* today (fig. 28). The present Jesuit church now extends about two meters in front of these buildings, suggesting the Jesuits corrected the angle in order to enlarge the church and create a more imposing façade. Although for obvious reasons there was a practice of reusing foundations in Venice, the Jesuit project was probably too ambitious for the original foundations to accommodate.

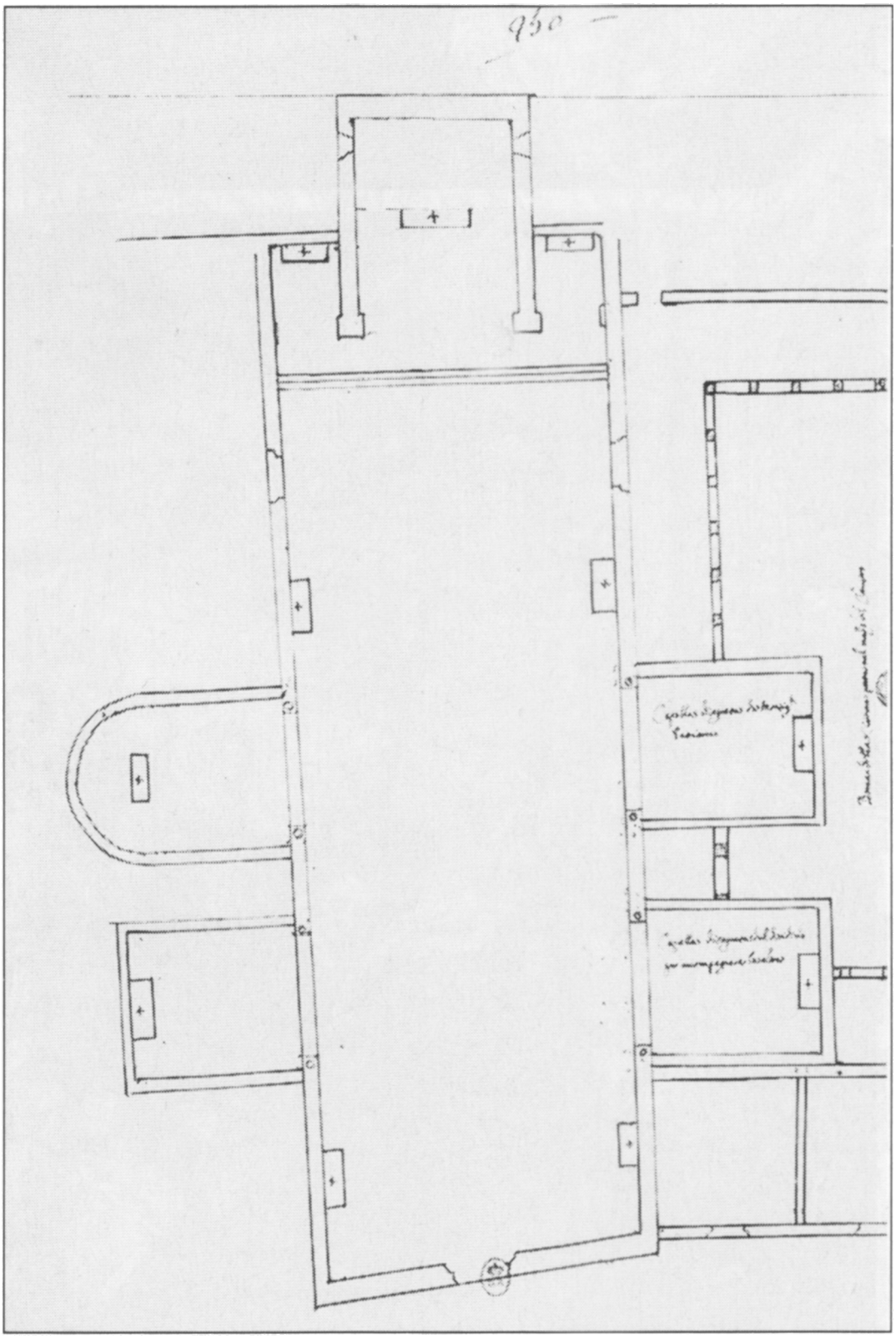
The façade was relatively simple, even austere, compared to churches built or rebuilt around the same time (the Miracoli, San Zaccaria, San Giobbe), and would not have been unlike other lost churches such as Sant'Elena, San Servolo, Santa Giustina or the altered church of Santi Cosma e Damiano della Giudecca.[28] Its relative simplicity may be reflective of financial constraints; similar restrictions necessitated modest designs for the Sansovinian churches of San Giuliano and San Martino.[29] If the brick was exposed, we get no such sense of its texture from Palma's depiction, or from Lovisa's engraving (figs. 24-25). It is possible that it was covered in a salmon coloured *stucco* (much like the façade of the cloister (fig. 26), against which the Istrian stone engaged pilasters and detailing would have had stood out crisply, an effect that can still be observed at the church of San Giovanni Crisostomo.

The next obvious question is who might have been responsible for the design of this structure, information we lack for many Venetian churches of this period. In some cases the *proto-maestro*, a skilled project manager who was sometimes also an architect, might be known, but just as often these figures remain anonymous. The Crociferi may have had significant input into the design of their church, even supervised its construction. Among multiple examples of the active participation of clergy in the initiation and co-

26. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Doge Pasquale Cicogna Visits the Crociferi Monastery on the Feast of the Assumption*, 1585–1588, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice (see also fig. 87)



27. Overlay of the Crociferi and Gesuiti floorplans (Stefano Bortolussi and Antonio Mazzeri)



28. Floorplan of the Church of the Crociferi, with proposal for the addition of two right lateral chapels, c. 1667, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

ordination of an architectural project, the most obvious remains the rebuilding of the Franciscan church of San Francesco della Vigna.[30] The form and functionality of Sansovino's design was shaped by the input of three monks—Giovanni Barbaro, Girolamo Contarini, and especially Francesco Zorzi—all from patrician families, thus privy to intellectual circles in which architecture was discussed.[31] Given the patrician demographic at the Crociferi monastery, it would not be surprising to find that there were architectural enthusiasts among the membership that could have served a similar administrative role in the reconstruction. Their lay protector, Alvise Dardani, might also have assumed the role. Multiple sources do testify to his involvement— Sansovino said "mediante"—and indeed, his role in a contemporaneous building project speaks to his qualifications to act as an intermediary. In 1490 he was directing a project to build a new meetinghouse in his capacity as guardian grande of the Scuola Grande di San Marco.[32] Dardani's role in this project may help us rule out a few of the well-known architects as potential authors of the Crociferi design. In November of 1489 progress on the meetinghouse was halted due to an unspecified conflict between the *guardian grande*, Dardani, and the architects Pietro Lombardo and Giovanni Buora.[33] By 1490 Mauro Codussi was in charge of the project, and no further mention of the first architects appears in any subsequent documentation.[34] It seems safe to conclude that something had gone wrong enough to warrant dismissing them, and given the fact that Alvise Dardani seems also to have been in charge of the Crociferi rebuild, initiated a few months later, it is hard to imagine that he would have brought them in on another project.[35]

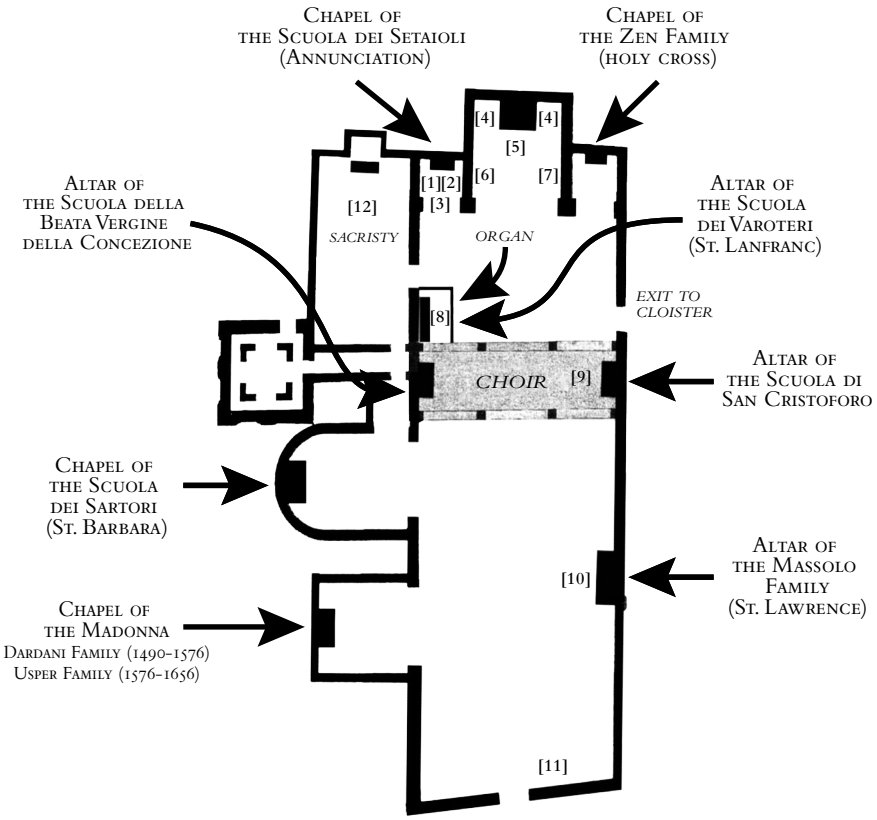
Interior: 1581 and 1656

Two major things happened in 1581 that proved incredibly useful to this reconstruction: Francesco Sansovino published the first edition of his guidebook to Venice, and an apostolic visit to all Venetian monasteries occurred.[36] Between Sansovino's testimony and the observations made in the records of the visit, we can begin to visualize the interior as it would have been after the first phase of redecoration. The inventory taken in 1656 provides a sort of snapshot of the arrangement of the church and its decoration after the second phase of redecoration and before the Jesuits arrived. The reader is encouraged to consult the 1581 and 1656 reconstructed ground plans in the interest of visualising the basic layout of the church and the location of works of art, as we move on to a discussion of decorative patronage (fig. 29).

Tombs

Some wall tombs probably occupied the

29. Reconstruction of the Church Interior in 1581 and in 1656 (Allison Sherman)



AD 1581

[1] Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *Annunciation, St. Mark* and *St. Sebastian*

[2] Paolo Veronese, *Adoration of the Shepherd:*

[3] Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, Giovanni Mansueti and Lattanzio da Rimini, *Life of St. Mark Cycle*

[4] Alessandro Vittoria, *Sts. Barbara and Helena*

[5] Jacopo Tintoretto, *Assumption of the Virgin*

[6] Andrea Schiavone, *Visitation* (lost)

[7] Jacopo Tintoretto, *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*

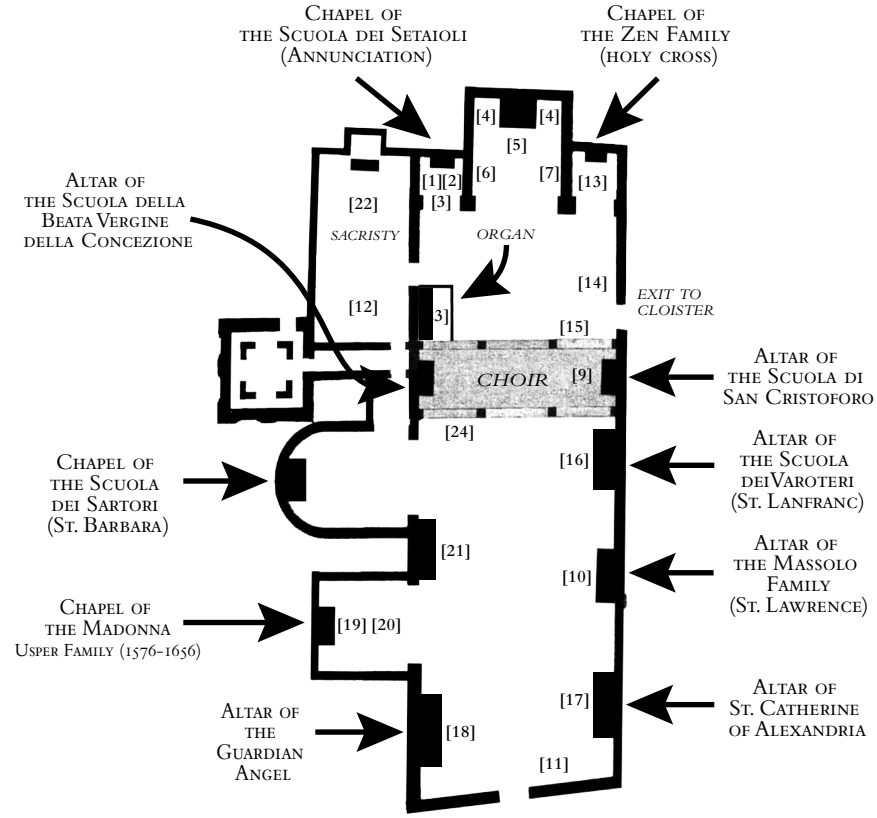
[8] Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *St. Lanfranc with Sts. John the Baptist and Liberius*

[9] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *St. Christopher*

[10] Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*

[11] Alessandro Vittoria and Workshop (with Giulio del Moro), *Monument to the Da Lezze Family*

[12] Giovanni Mansueti, *Cruficifx* (National Gallery, London?)



AD 1656

[13] Wooden *Pietà*

[14] Girolamo Campagna, *Cicogna Monument*

[15] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Passover with Prophets*

[16] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Decollation of St. John the Baptist*

[17] Antonio Vassilacchi Aliense, *Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria*

[18] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Guardian Angel*

[19] Andrea dell'Aquila, *Madonna*

[20] Gilded stucco vault with Evangelists in niches

[21] Matteo Ponzone, *Padre Eterno with Meeting at the Golden Gate (?)*

[22] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Narrative Cycle (Ceiling) and Altarpiece

[23] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Organ Painted Decoration

[24] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Choir Painted Decoration

space along the first third of the nave before the installation of two additional altars to the left and right of the entrance sometime after 1581. Their construction may have displaced the sculptural tomb of the youth Ippolito Verardi, the first known Venetian work by Giambattista Bregno commissioned around 1503–4 by the Verardi brothers who had been Cesenate patrons of Bregno.[37]

The Choir

As Modesti's study of the choirs described in the apostolic visit revealed, the Crociferi choir was one of only three described as "podium pensile" or "quod inservit pro choro".[38] It was raised, like surviving *barchi* in Santa Maria dei Miracoli, San Sebastiano and Sant'Alvise, only not suspended over the entrance door. This type of choir occupied the width of the church, dividing the space in two unequal parts: the *ecclesia laicorum* and the *ecclesia fratrum*, terms that speak to the function of the screen as a barrier between the zones occupied by the laity and the *frati*.[39] The Crociferi version was made of wood with an open arcade front (resembling a portico) and a central passage, perhaps sizable enough to

30. Vittore Carpaccio, *Vision of Prior Ottobon in Sant'Antonio di Castello*, c. 1515, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

provide visibility toward the high altar.[40] This became increasingly important with Counter-Reformation changes to liturgy, requiring some choirs to be dismantled to accommodate the need of the populace to see what was occurring at the altar. The visitors to the Crociferi in 1581 made no suggestion for altering the choir, and although the structure was refurbished in the early 1590's, it survived intact until the Jesuits demolished it to rebuild.[41] Like the Crociferi choir, the analogous choirs belonging to the Dominicans of Santi Giovanni e Paolo and the Camaldolese monks of San Giovanni Battista della Giudecca are lost, however the lone surviving monastic *barco* at San Michele in Isola, and a painting of the interior of the lost church of Sant'Antonio di Castello (depicted in Carpaccio and shop, *Vision of Prior Ottobon* (fig. 30)), furnish us with some notion of how it may have looked.[42] As at San Michele, there was probably a door to the right of the *barco* that would have allowed the *frati* to move in and out of the choir from the second level of the adjacent two-storey cloister. The apostolic visit notes that a wooden crucifix was suspended from the front of the choir, a practice that was common in mendicant churches.[43] Examples of these objects from the late fifteenth century, usually made of wood, survive at San Giorgio Maggiore, the Frari, and San Giovanni in Bragora.[44]

In front of the choir was a vessel containing holy water, and a podium, probably used for preaching.[45] Sanudo's diaries record that a multitude of itinerant preachers spoke at the Crociferi church, and many of the brothers themselves were accomplished *predicatori*. The ample, open space of the nave would have been ideal for large audiences to gather, and the structure of the choir would have kept the laity at a distance from the part of the sanctuary where the Crociferi circulated and where the holy offices were performed.

The Organ

The organ was suspended from the wall between the choir and the door to the sacristy, where Martinelli located it in 1684. This is confirmed through the records of the confraternity of the Conception, which locates its altar beneath the choir on the left, located "vicino al organo".[46] While the organs in many Venetian churches were located above the door of the main entrance, others were positioned in the middle of the church (such as Santa Maria dei Carmini) for proximity to the choir and the *cappella maggiore*, where the singing and holy offices were performed.[47] Nothing is known of the origins of the instrument itself, although it is worth noting the proximity of the organ maker Lorenzo da Pavia, who had his shop in Cannaregio as early as 1494.[48] It seems safe to conclude that the church was furnished with a new organ following the 1491 rebuild, particularly in light of the importance of music in this monastic community, and given the presence during these years of Fra Giovanni Ar-

monio Marso, *recitatore*, singer and organist of San Marco.[49]

The Sacristy

The sacristy extended off the left side of the church, more or less as the present space is positioned, but was smaller and arranged differently, with the altar niche at the liturgical east.[50] The apostolic visitors characterized it as "ampla" and they noted that it contained cabinets, seats and a place to wash hands.[51] Its only known decoration up to 1581 was a "crocifiso" attributed to Giovanni Mansueti by Sansovino (lost).[52]

The Library

In 1584 the library positioned above the sacristy was renovated, a project recorded in the hospital's *libri di spese*.[53] There were to be twenty-four shelves in total, which corresponds to the number of "scabelle" of books recorded in the inventory of the library completed between 1598-1603 at the request of the Congregazione dell'Indice.[54] The accord between the Crociferi and their carpenter specified that their *banchi* should resemble those in the library of San Giorgio Maggiore. They would obviously not have been referring to the present Longhena library, but the preceding one that had been a gift to the Benedictines from Cosimo de' Medici (c.1464-78).[55] It was not unusual to make comparative specifications like this in contracts for the building of choir stalls, and evidently the practice extended to the furnishing of libraries.[56] The Crociferi wished for their *banchi* to be the same in size and ornament as those at San Giorgio, with the exception of the quality of the wood, which would not be walnut, but fir and cherry.[57] We know from the inventory the library was organised in a typical Renaissance system, with each shelf designated to house a certain genre or class of book. The size of the library, which the contract asserts was bigger than that of San Giorgio Maggiore, and the priority its renovation took in the scheme of renovation serve as further testament to the privileged place learning and intellectual pursuits held within this monastery.

[1] M. Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi*, (Padua, 1989), II, 630.

[2] D. Malipiero, "Annali veneti", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 7 (1844), 685.

[3] M. A. Sabellico, *De situ urbis venetae* (Venice, 1494), II, 13; *Del sito di venezia città*, 1502, ed. G. Meneghetti (Venice, 1957), 22.

[4] BMC, Jacopo de' Barbari, *Venetie*, (Venice, Anton Kolb, 1500), woodcut.

[5] Sanudo, *Le vite*, II, 630-31.

[6] ASV, PSMsupra, Comm., B. 25, 26, 27, 41; ASV, CSR, S. Andrea della Certosa, B. 8, f. K, n. 257.

[7] C. Neerfeld, *Historia per forma di diaria: la cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il quattro e il cinquecento* (Venice, 2006), 69, 83.

[8] F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima* (Venice, 1581), 60b. States that the rebuilding was the work of Dardano, "Grand Prottetore and Benefattore".

[9] Malipiero, 1844, 1100.

[10] BMC, Cod. Cic.2848, M. Michiel, *Diarii*.

[11] G. B. Galliccioli, *Delle memorie venete antiche, profane ed ecclesiastiche* (Venice, 1795), II, 237-8.

[12] Galliccioli, 1795, II, 237.

[13] ASV, PSMcitra, Comm., B. 234-5, fasc. 9; Lunardon, 42.

[14] E. Concina, "Fuochi di Medioevo" in *Venezia in Fumo*, ed. D. Calabi (Bergamo, 2006), 33.

[15] M. Sanudo, *I diarii*, ed. R. Fulin et al. (Venice, 1879-1903), XII, 67 (18 March 1511). Relates the circumstances of Dardano's funeral and his burial "in la chiesia de li crosechieri, in la soa archa et capella fata far per lui". M. Neff, *Chancellery secretaries in Venetian politics and society: 1480–1533* (Los Angeles, 1985), 173-250. De Peppo (1984, 418-19) assumes that the date of the fire is incorrect.

[16] ASV, NT (Busenello), B. 66, n. 47 (28 October 1504, Codicil of 24 December 1506).

[17] P. Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia* (Venice, 1893), II, 222. M. Tafuri, *Venice in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1985), 20. As procurators of the friars Emo oversaw the 1510 transformation of the basilica and was involved in a decision to finance parts of the rebuild of San Salvador. On Navagero: P. Humfrey, "Cima da Conegliano, Sebastiano Mariani, and Alvise Vivarini at the East End of S. Giovanni in Bragora in Venice" *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980), 350.

[18] Although the government would sometimes direct funds towards such projects via the Provveditori al Sal, my research revealed no such provision was made for the Crociferi, nor is there mention of a rebuilding in the deliberations of the Senate.

[19] ASV, PSMcitra, Comm., B. 230/1, Quaderno VI. Dardani testifies in 1493 that the commenda cost the monastery in excess of 600 ducats a year, making it difficult for them to maintain the hospital.

[20] Lunardon, 40. "Coenobium hoc igne et vetustate consumptum in augustiorem hanc formam Crucigeri a fundamentis erexerunt A. MDXLIII".

[21] W. Dorigo, *Venezia origini: fondamenti, ipotesti, metodi* (Milan, 1983), 495. The Crociferi church is rated a 3 out of 4 on Dorigo's comparative scale, with a 4 being "*grandissimo*".

[22] M. Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae* (1493-1530), ed. A. Caraccioloarico (Milan, 1980), 49. In addition to San Marco, S. Pietro di Castello, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, the Frari, Santa Maria dei Servi, Santo Stefano, San Zaccaria, the Madonna dell'Orto, the Miracoli.

[23] ASVat, CSR, Relationes, 24: There were 54 rooms in the monastery, plus "Novitiato, Vestiario, Libraria, Reffetorio, Cucina, Respenssa, Tinello, Canecca, Magazeni da legne et altre comodità con doi Claustri tre corti et un pocco di Horto; ha doi parti è situato sopra l'Aqua, et dall'altra sopra una piazza assai grande".

[24] Dorigo, 2003, I, 793.

[25] *Ibid.*, 793.

[26] M. Dalla Costa, "La Chiesa di S. Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti e la concezione Palladiana" in *I Gesuiti e Venezia*, 1994, 714-5.

[27] Bricks consistent with those used in surviving gothic buildings were found during a restoration of the Gesuiti.

[28] Dorigo, 1983, 630.

[29] Tafuri, 1993, 73.

[30] On ecclesiastical patrons: D. Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, 1975), 62-88.

[31] Howard, 1975, 66-7, 173, n. 30.

[32] De Peppo, 1984, 421. Dardani served as *guardian grande* twice (1484 and 1490).

[33] ASV, Scuola Grande di San Marco, Notatorio, B. 16; Paoletti, 1893, II, doc. 73, 103.

[34] P. Sohm, *The Scuola Grande di San Marco, 1437-1550: the architecture of a Venetian lay confraternity* (New York, 1982), 11-12, 113-116.

[35] A. Schulz, "Giovanni Buora lapicida", *Arte Lombarda*, 65 (1983), 49-50, 59. Buora (1450-1513) was more of a collaborator than an independent architect. His specialty was geared more towards carved decoration than architectonic design, although he was responsible for the dormitory of San Giorgio Maggiore (1494). Because there is no like project by Buora with which to form a comparison, it is difficult to make any sort of meaningful comment on whether he had anything to do with the Crociferi church, however his connection to Giovanni Michiel, the cardinal *commendatario* for the Crociferi during the years of the rebuilding, merits remark as evidence of a potential link. Buora was commissioned by Michiel to execute an external portal at Palazzo Vescovile in Verona in 1502.

[36] S. Tramontin, "La visita apostolica del 1581 a Venezia", *SV*, 9 (1967), 453-533.

[37] A. Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno* (Cambridge, 1991), cat 18, 170-1. The Verardi also commissioned Bregno to execute statues for the Altar of the Corpus Domini in the chapel of Carlo Verardi in the Duomo at Cesena. The tomb was recorded in place (albeit without reference to its specific location or form) as late as 1592. See App. VIII.

[38] P. Modesti, "I cori nella chiese veneziane e la visita apostolica del 1581. Il 'barco' di Santa Maria della Carità" *AV*, 59 (2002), 39-65.

[39] M. Merotto Ghedini, "Il tramezzo nella chiesa dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo a Venezia" in *De Lapidibus Sententiae*, eds. T. Franco and G. Valenzano (Padua, 2002), 257-62.

[40] Ghedini, 2002, 258. The choirs at Santi Giovanni e Paolo and Sant'Antonio were

similarly arcaded.

[41] G. Albrizzi, *Il forestiere illuminato intorno le cose più rare, e curiose antiche, e moderne, dalla cittá di Venezia e dell'isole cironvicine* (Venice, 1740), 164. Describes a painting relocated when "i Gesuiti disfecero il Coro che attraversava il Tempio antico".

[42] Ghedini, 2002, 257–8. The Santi Giovanni e Paolo choir (post-1386) was destroyed in 1683. On the San Michele barco: D. Howard and L. Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice. Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven, 2009), 50–55.

[43] ASV, AP, c. 125r. "Sopra la faccia del Choro...un Christo di Legno". ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72r. "habet crucifixum."

[44] A. Schulz, "La scultura lignea in area lagunare dalla meta del trecento alla meta del Cinquecento" in *Con il legno e con l'oro: la Venezia artigiana degli intagliatori, battiloro e doratori*, ed. G. Caniato (Sommacampagna, 2009), 53–55.

[45] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72r. "suggestum, labella pro aqua benedicta forestutas".

[46] ASV, SPS, BVC, B. 214; D. Martinelli, *Il ritratto di Venezia* (Venice, 1684), 222.

[47] M. Bisson, "La collocazione degli organi nelle chiese veneziane del Rinascimento" in *Architettura e musica nelle Venezia del Rinascimento*, eds. Howard and Moretti (Venice, 2006), 308.

[48] S. Dalla Libera, *L'arte degli organi*, (Venice, 1962), 189; W. Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia", *Early Music History* 2 (1982), 88.

[49] The Abbruzian Marso was active in Venice before 1502.

[50] I am grateful to Dr. Lydia Hamlett for sharing the relevant pages of her dissertation. L. Hamlett, *The Sacristy in Renaissance Venice* (unpub. PhD thesis, Cambridge, 2007), 159–161.

[51] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72r.

[52] Sansovino, 1581, 60b.

[53] App. IV.

[54] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 11296, c. 145r–155v; *Codices Vaticani Latini: codices 11266 – 11326. Inventari delle biblioteche religiose italiane alla fine del Cinquecento*, eds. M. Lebreton and A. Fiorani (Rome, 1985), 198–203.

[55] K. Staikos, *Libraries from antiquity to the Renaissance and major humanist and monastery libraries* (Athens, 1997), 74–5. Vasari noted the San Giorgio library: "fu finita non solo di muraglia, di banchi, di legnami ed altri ornamenti, ma repiena di molti libri."

[56] G. Radke, "Nuns and Their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice" *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001), 449. The nuns of San Zaccaria stipulated in the 1455 contract for their choir stalls that various parts should resemble those at Sant'Elena, and that certain details should be better than those in Santa Fosca.

[57] ASV, ZC, *Spese di Fabbriche 1507-1592*, filz. 8.

3

Monastic Patronage First Phase (1500-1565)

Franzoi and Di Stefano assert that despite the scale and splendour of the convent, the Crociferi did not distinguish themselves in any particular way in the social, cultural, or religious spheres.[1] On the contrary, my research revealed that the Venetian monastery was in fact an active centre of learning and humanistic pursuits. The 1564 *condizione* records that the Crociferi employed masters of grammar, Latin, Greek, theology and music to instruct the *religiosi*.[2] A late-Cinquecento inventory of their extensive library (in excess of 1400 titles) reveals the rich, varied, and progressive interests of the Crociferi, many of who were published theologians, poets, historians, musicians and preachers of some renown.[3]

31. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *Annunciation* (see fig. 32)

Marc'Antonio Boldù stressed all of this in the introduction to his history of the Crociferi:

> "...li padri nostri l'hanno narrato, ne si convenendo ad altri che a Dio il vero honore, et culto divino, dovremo almeno con vive voci predicarli, et con eterne memorie de scritti, alla perpetuità della fama racomandarli perche havendo noi ricevuto de loro, per le sottili inventioni di tante scienze, et arti, si liberali, come mecanice, ogni industria, sapere, et commodo, dovremo meritamente reputarli come universali benefattori degni d'immortal lode come essaminadori l'historie verissimi testimoni delle humane attioni, et specchio di veritade..".[4]

This will of course have significant im-

plications for our understanding of their role as patrons of art.

The Crociferi and Music

Most of the Crociferi monasteries dependent on the Venetian house—including Venice, Padua, Conegliano[5], Bergamo and Treviso—sustained active music chapels, complete with *maestri di cappelle*, and salaried positions for the organist and instructors of singing and instruments.[6] The account books of San Martino di Conegliano reveal that musicians were regularly dispatched from Venice, Padua and Treviso to aid the smaller monastery in performing on its significant feast days.

Quaranta's comparative study of the 1564 *condizioni* revealed that the Crociferi paid their organist substantially more than any other monastery, save the church of San Pietro di Castello, then the cathedral of Venice.[7] The importance of organ music at the church may have been connected to Crocifero Giovanni Antonio Marso, organist of San Marco (1516-1552), who lived at the monastery from about 1506.[8] As organist of San Marco for almost four decades, he served under *maestri* De Fossis, Willaert and De Rore. This is significant, as the Crociferi seem to have been amongst the early practitioners of *coro spezzato*; a form of double-choir or polyphonic music that had its roots in sixteenth-century Venice and the unique acoustic space that was the ducal chapel.[9] Adrian Willaert, once credited with the invention of the genre, is now viewed as having played a major role in its development.[10] One of the key pieces of evidence for the emergence of this sort of music before his time involves the Crociferi. In 1536, the musical theorist Pietro Aaron (1480-1545) was admitted as a Crocifero at San Leonardo, Bergamo, following his extensive stay in Venice. Aaron recounted the service in a letter to Giovanni del Lago in Venice the following day:

> "For the sake of the love that these musicians and singers have for me, Maestro Gasparo, the chapel master, came here voluntarily with twenty-two singers to honour me, and they sang Vespers most excellently with two choirs and *psalmi spezzati*".[11]

My own research uncovered further evidence of Crociferi involvement in double-choir music. Various music books were listed in an inventory of the Conegliano monastery, among them an *antiphonario*; a liturgical book used in respondent chanting.[12] In a letter of 1556, prior Giuliano Cirno reported that they had honoured a deceased member of the Gussoni family by saying "tutte le messe due cantata la messa grande in canto figurato più honorevole".[13] Finally, the Venetian house counted amongst its illustrious brothers Caterino Bianchi, composer of polyphonic music, who was at Venice as *sacerdote* in 1564, served as

the *maestro di cappella* of Sant'Alessandro di Bergamo in the 1570's, and returned to Venice where he was recorded as organist in 1581 and 1592.[14]

The Crociferi, Preaching and Plays

A systematic examination of the diaries of Marin Sanudo yielded very little information about the Crociferi, however what Sanudo did mention contributes a great deal to what we know about the atmosphere at the monastery during the early Cinquecento. It was evidently a major venue for itinerant preachers, and on the opposite end of the spectrum, for *commedie dell'arte*. Sanudo records nine visiting *predicatori* at the church between 1507 and 1532. A glimpse at the appendix of accomplished Crociferi reveals that many of the brothers were themselves preachers of some renown.[15]

About 1522, Sanudo's descriptions of preaching at the Crociferi church give way to descriptions of professional productions of *commedie dell'arte*. In 1522 they hosted two recitations of a comedy by Cherea, and the first Venetian performance of Machiavelli's *Mandragola*.[16] The following year Ruzzante's *Gli Orlotani* and Bibbiena's *Calandria* were performed.[17] These were not exactly Passion plays, and were popular amongst the aristocracy for good reason; many of them were erotic and used offensive language, hardly the kind of production you might expect to find friars attending, let alone hosting.[18] Theatrical performances did take place at other Venetian monasteries[19], in fact one production in the cloister of Santo Stefano in 1502 was the comedy *Stephanium*, written by Crocifero Antonio Marso, who must have been instrumental in bringing these acts to the stage of his own monastery. It is also worth considering the influence some of the patrician supporters of the Crociferi, such as the Zen and Da Lezze, may have had on this aspect of life at the monastery.[20]

Crociferi involvement in the theatre scene was an obvious extension of their literary interests. We know from a late sixteenth-century inventory that the monastic library contained volumes related to all categories of learning, and that individual Crociferi maintained personal collections. With the blossoming printing industry on their doorstep, the monastery produced published writers of poetry, history, theology and music. Many of the Crociferi held university degrees and were members of academies of learning in Venice and elsewhere.[21]

In the dedication of his history of the Crociferi, Benedetto Leoni asserts that he and his fellow Crociferi made a conscious choice to depart from the tradition of writing in Latin, preferring the vernacular for accessibility.[22] This preference was also reflected in the titles in their monastic library.[23] Their rather progressive literary interests were likely to have been a key factor in the appeal the monastery had to a patrician audience, from which they drew a great deal of membership and, indeed,

patronage. Many of their major private patrons and illustrious supporters, the noble Zen, Querini-Massolo and Da Lezze families, and the papal nuncio Giovanni della Casa, were all members of the humanist circles in which the debate over the use of language was being carried out. It cannot be coincidence that it was in a space owned by the Crociferi in Calle del Padiglion that Francesco Marcolini, that famous printer of *volgare* texts, established his first shop in Venice in 1535.[24]

Proactive Priors

During the last decade of the fifteenth century efforts were already being made to ornament the new church. Most of the decoration that we know about from the early part of the century belonged to the trade guilds that occupied side altars or chapels in the church. Nothing was recorded regarding the early decoration of the high altar, as is the case with many important Gothic churches.[25] The original high altarpiece was probably some sort of polyptych—whether early or late Gothic—perhaps with a central representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, a preferred subject for churches with Marian dedications during the Quattrocento.

Under the strain of the *commenda* and the efforts to return to discipline, the Venetian house struggled to fill the position of prior in the early decades of the sixteenth century. So desperate was the situation, the Crociferi even attempted to install the thirteen year-old Nicolò Priuli as prior in 1503-4, scandalizing the Signoria, who asked Rome to intervene.[26] One Crocifero remained omnipresent throughout these years: Arcangelo Cremaschi, who is recorded as prior at Venice at least five times (1497, 1521, 1527, 1529 and 1534), and who served as Master General of the order in 1501 and 1513. During his tenure as Master General, he was responsible for the rebuilding of the motherhouse at Bologna, which had been destroyed by fire during the invasion of Charles, Duke of Bourbon in 1527.[27] His central role in this project is evinced by his burial beneath the high altar in 1545.[28] Given his involvement in the Bologna rebuild, it is worth considering that it may have been Arcangelo who sparked the spirit of renewal at the Venetian house.

I suspect that part of the project for rejuvenation at the church involved an attempt to solicit new guilds and confraternities. These organisations provided income, they tended altars, and they also had the potential to contribute decoration to the spaces in which they carried out their devotional activities. The guilds centred at the church of the Crociferi were among the wealthiest and most prolific in their art patronage, and it is worth considering that the Crociferi made a concerted effort to attract these rather more prosperous than average *scuole* to their church, and may even have guided their choice of imagery and artist. The fact that both Giovanni Mansueti and Cima da Conegliano provided multiple works

32. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *Annunciation*, 1495, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (see also page 354)

for the church and its *scuole* is evidence that some party involved favoured their work. There was a Mansueti crucifix in the sacristy,[29] Cima painted two guild altarpieces for the church, and both he and Mansueti contributed to the silk-weavers' narrative cycle (c. 1497). Cima, relatively fresh to Venice when he produced his *Annunciation* in 1495 for the chapel of the silk-weavers, could have come to the attention of the Crociferi through their dependent monastery in Conegliano.[30] Although the loss of the church of San Martino prevents confirmation, it is quite

possible that Cima depicted the church through the window behind the angel Gabriel in the *Annunciation* (fig. 32). It is known that the church of San Martino underwent major reconstructions about the same time as the Venetian monastery, including the addition of frescoes of "alcune arme del ordine" above the entrance.[31] In Cima's painting, traces of three crosses are arranged in the attic storey of the elevated Gothic façade. Such tender depictions of his birthplace in the distance are not uncommon in the works of the perpetually homesick artist. The inclusion of St. Lanfranc and St. Liberius in the altarpiece Cima painted for the furriers around 1515 had more to do with the Crociferi than the furriers, who had no connection to either saint. Their altar was dedicated to Lanfranc, whose head was preserved beneath it, but the presence of the Crocifero saint, Liberius (complete with the turquoise habit and silver cross in hand), points strongly toward monastic input into the content of the painting (fig. 33).

In 1501, Arcangelo Cremaschi further cemented an existing relationship with the furriers' guild by ceding them land on which to build a meetinghouse to the left of the church.[32] In 1519 Fra Girolamo Confalonieri, the vicar of the monastery, assigned an altar to the devotional confraternity dedicated to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.[33] This is the first document to mention Confalonieri, who would go on to lead both the Paduan and Venetian monasteries throughout the following four decades, initiating and coordinating major renovations. His involvement in the attraction of a confraternity dedicated to the Conception of the Virgin is also important early evidence for what I will argue in the following pages. I will suggest that Confalonieri, along with several other leading *frati*, made an active effort throughout the 1550's to create a Marian programme in the chancel. In doing so they conformed to two major religious and artistic trends of the period, including the proactive involvement of the clergy in the coordination of building and/or decoration, and the creation of a thematic decorative programme.

Coordinated Decoration in Venetian Churches

In his study of Venetian Renaissance altarpieces, Peter Humfrey notes that the clergy would obviously have been involved to some degree in each commission to ensure decorum was observed. He cautions the reader to remember that "patronage" denotes a long-term, consistent and educated involvement in commissioning art.[34] Usually the clergy were only responsible for the sponsorship of a single work of art, if anything at all, and for this reason they have not been accorded a prominent place amongst the various categories of patrons or donors. But Humfrey's study, among others, has demonstrated that some ecclesiastical patrons played a far more active role, "prompting the laity to commission altarpieces, and in advising them on ques-

33. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *St. Lanfranc Enthroned with St. John the Baptist and St. Liberius* (*Varoteri Altarpiece*), c. 1515-1516, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

tions of form, content, medium, and even the choice of artist".[35]

There are multiple examples of Cinquecento building and decorative projects initiated by monks, nuns and parish priests. The parish churches of San Giovanni in Bragora and San Giovanni Crisostomo were rebuilt and splendidly redecorated

under the guidance of the priests Cristoforo Rizzo (1479-95) and Ludovico Talenti (1480-1516).[36] The nuns at San Zaccaria and Santa Maria Maggiore were extremely active patrons, despite the restrictions of their cloistered lives.[37] The latter created an unusual painted Marian programme in the apse and nave to which Veronese, Titian, Tintoretto (and shop) all contributed. At the Franciscan basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Fra Germano, a high-ranking Franciscan, commissioned Titian's Assunta (1518), its impressive *all'antica* frame, and attracted two private patrons to assume responsibility for two altars in the nave.[38] Jacopo Pesaro provided an altarpiece by Titian (1526) for the altar on the left of the nave dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, and Goffen suggests that Fra Germano then solicited Nicolò Valier to provide an altarpiece for the altar on the opposite side of the nave.[39] Its dedication shifted from St. Bernardino of Siena to the Purification of the Virgin, although ultimately the decoration by Giuseppe Salviati did not conform to what he probably envisioned.[40] The combination of these three altars formed a sort of triangle of related Marian mysteries, with up-to-date Renaissance altarpieces, something that Humfrey argues Fra Germano set about to create.[41] A similar coordinated effort was undertaken a few decades later at San Sebastiano under prior Bernardo Torlioni, a theologian with ties to the great religious reformers, Gian Pietro Carafa and Cardinal Reginald Pole.[42] Torlioni came into contact with them in his native Verona, which is probably where he came to know Paolo Veronese, the artist who would realize his vision.[43] Between 1544-72, Torlioni would commission Veronese to decorate the sacristy, the ceiling and walls of the nave, and the organ. Paolo would also complete the high altarpiece, a work that was at once a *sacra conversazione* and a scene of martyrdom of St. Sebastian, with flanking lateral pictures.[44]

During the period of religious reform, clerical involvement would have been particularly important to ensure decorum and advise on imagery that would adhere to long-established but newly reinforced notions about the purpose of sacred art. When the Council of Trent finally issued a decree on this subject in 1563, what little was said was a repetition of statements made by Gregory the Great and Thomas Aquinas, who both viewed education and inspiration as the central benefits of visual art. In the Counter-Reformation period, religious art stood alongside public preaching as a means by which the church could instruct a largely illiterate public, and defend itself against the Protestant challenge to its core tenets: the cult of the Virgin, the saints, and the centrality of the Eucharist. In both visual and oral religious propaganda there was an emphasis on stimulating emotion and providing the viewer with multiple and often interrelated themes upon which to meditate and model their own behaviour.[45]

The decoration in the Frari and San

Sebastiano conformed to these ideas by celebrating the Virgin and the martyrdoms of saints, and both Fra Germano and Torlioni would have provided the guiding force behind the spatial and symbolic unity of the decorative programmes.[46] I argue that a similar effort was made by the ecclesiastical hierarchy at the church of the Crociferi to actively solicit, coordinate and influence two phases of decoration throughout the last half of the sixteenth century.

Girolamo Confalonieri and Giuliano Cirno

A major focus of my research was combing through notarial *protocoli* and *minute* in hopes of uncovering contracts for work (not just by artists, but labour connected decorative projects) undertaken at the church, particularly in the chancel. The dating for this major redecoration, which included works by artists such as Tintoretto, Andrea Schiavone and Alessandro Vittoria, has generally been assigned to the 1550's on a stylistic basis, but has not been securely documented. Regrettably, no new contracts surfaced, however the Crociferi business that was registered provided information that has allowed a deeper understanding of the context and intentions behind the decoration. These documents provided the identities of the high-ranking Crociferi during the years in which the project was undertaken, and two names consistently stood out. Girolamo Confalonieri, whose role in attracting the confraternity of the Conception in 1518 has already been noted, was recorded as prior at Venice in 1548, 1549, 1550 and 1553.[47] It was during his time as prior in 1553 that an official agreement was reached with Nicolò Zen to rebuild the Crociferi hospital.[48] Another Crocifero, Giuliano Cirno, was recorded in the same position in 1541, 1544-7, 1554-6 and 1558. It was general practice within the order for priors to serve for a maximum of three years in order to prevent abuse of power, and throughout the late 1540's and 1550's these two men took turns leading the monastery.[49] When one was serving as prior, the other consistently occupied a role of secondary importance.[50] Along with the identities of these *frati*, further evidence emerged that suggested Confalonieri in particular might well have had ample training in art patronage prior to his arrival in Venice.

The author of the Treviso manuscript described Confalonieri as "notissimo in ogni sorte di lettere, et oratore".[51] He was from Milan, although the few sources that do mention him mistake him as Bresciano ("Bressano").[52] Confalonieri spent a period of years as prior of the monastery in Padua before taking on the same role in Venice, and during that time he had initiated the rebuilding of the church. Portenari wrote of the lost church of Santa Maria Maddalena:

"La fabrica antica di questo hospitale

si è veduta infin'all'anno 1565, nel qual tempo Girolamo Confaloniero Bressano Crucifero Priore di detto monastero, aggiungendovi nuove fabriche lo ridusse in forma di convento, il quale anco ristorò, abbellì, e diede nuova forma alla chiesa".[53]

The project was still in progress by the time Confalonieri departed for Venice, and was perhaps still in part unfinished even after his death in 1558, but continued under the supervision of his nephew, Simone Rossi ["Simon Rubens Bressano"].[54] Situated on the periphery of the city's old walls [now Via di Savonarola], the church was destroyed in the early nineteenth century, however guidebooks recorded clues to Confalonieri's patronage.[55] Before leaving for Venice in 1548 a monument to his legacy was erected.[56] Several sources record a marble portrait bust in a shell niche, flanked by two bas-relief *putti* mounted on the lateral wall of the church, a work by Gian Girolamo Grandi (1508-1560), a member of the Vicentine family of sculptors and bronze-casters. Rossetti saw it in 1780, before it was presumably destroyed:

"...è da vedersi in oltre sopra la porta interna della Chiesa un mezzo busto di marmo da Carrara, che rappresenta Fra Girolamo Confaloniero Milanese, che morì l'anno 1558. Come rilevarsi dall'iscrizione posto sotto il suo ritratto, cui si fece fare ancor vivente nel 1549. Opera eccellente dell'egregio Statuario Padovano Giangirolamo Grandi, il cui nome si legge nel piedestallo".[57]

It was much admired by those who did see it *in situ*, including Pietrucci, who esteemed Grandi's bust as "una prova del suo amore alle sane regole additate dai grandi maestri la si aveva", and noted "i due putti in bassorilievo che lo fiancheggiavano erano condotti con tutto il gusto dell'arte". Such a monument to a member of the clergy who had been active in the initiation, administration, and even financing of such a renovation is not without precedent. At the lost Sansovinian church of San Geminiano, such contributions by two parish priests—Matteo Eletti and Benedetto Manzini—were acknowledged with marble busts in the church.[58]

Other than the Grandi monument, the only decoration mentioned in guidebooks was a painting by the Friulian painter, Marco Basaiti. Ridolfi noted: "In Padovane' Padri Crociferi, è della di lui mano il morto Redentore". Brandolese was more specific in his description of a "Depositione del Salvatore nel Sepolcro" of which "ora nulla rimane". He continues:

"Spacciasi però come un vestigio di questa un quadretto in forma di mezza-luna, in cui stanno espressi il Padre, ed il Divin figliuolo che coronano la Vergine Santissima, con varj Angeli a'lati in atto di suonare, ed altri Santi ancora. Sta questa pittura nella Cappella, appesa al muro dal lato sinistro".[59]

34. Marco Basaiti, *Lamentation*, 1527, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

This description of a separate narrative scene in a half moon evokes something consistent with a compositional device frequently used in paintings, including altarpieces by the Bellini, Vivarini, and Cima.[60] No trace of this *Coronation* remains, while the main scene, the *Deposition*, could be one of two surviving works of this subject by Basaiti at the State Hermitage Museum, or the Pinacoteca di Brera.[61] A Crociferi provenance for the Hermitage painting is likely for two reasons. The first is the arrangement of the composition, in which the church's titular, Mary Magdalen, is given a position of prominence at the centre of the painting at the base of the Cross (fig. 34). The Virgin and Christ were similarly positioned at the base of the cross to emphasise the devotional interests of the patron(s) in what must have been an important precedent for this work: Giovanni Bellini's *Lamentation* of c. 1510 for the Venetian church of the Servi (fig. 35).[62] It is possible that the cross in the Basaiti was once represented in its entirety, as in the Bellini.[63]

The Hermitage painting is better classified as a Lamentation, something more contemplative than the Deposition Brandolese suggested, though the sepulchre he described is present. In the context of the Paduan church, this choice of subject would have provided an opportunity to reference the cross, the symbol of the order, as well as the church titular. Should a Coronation have in fact topped the work, it would have communicated the Virgin's ultimate reward for the suffering represented below. Further support of this provenance is an inscription, one of two recorded in the *Urbis Patavinae Inscriptiones sacrae*, previously overlooked. It read:

> "In ara. 1527. Fr. Hier. de Confaloneris Prior. Marcus Damiani faciebat".

The Hermitage picture is signed and dated 1527 on a *trompe l'oeil cartellino* pinned beneath a scallop shell.[64] In addition to confirming the original location of this painting, the inscription indicates a possible patron of the work, and records the involvement of Confalonieri. Unfortunately, the author did not specify the location of the altar, although neither its subject matter, nor its dimensions (122 × 154 cm) preclude it from having been a high altarpiece, particularly if it was once topped with a Coronation. What remains critical to the discussion at hand is that Confalonieri was involved in both the renovation of the church *and* two major decorative commissions. Both are demonstrative of his initiative; the Basaiti of his familiarity with the increasing trend for narrative altarpieces.[65] It is therefore not difficult to imagine that he arrived in Venice, fresh from a period of *renovatio* in Padua, and eager to apply this same initiative to the most affluent Crociferi monastery of all.

35. Giovanni Bellini, *Lamentation*, c. 1510, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

Tintoretto's *Assunta* and the Chancel Decoration

When the Crociferi decided to update their altarpiece, the task fell to Jacopo Tintoretto. He produced an *Assumption of the Virgin* that now occupies the altar on the left-hand side of the present Gesuiti church (fig. 36). The painting has received relatively little scholarly attention, even though it was praised by Boschini, who declared it "un esemplar del Tentoreto solo Ghe porto, sì perfeto e sì amirando" and "una delle singolari opere del mondo",[66] and by Carlo Ridolfi, who counted it among Tintoretto's greatest works.[67] As an autograph work of extremely high quality, it merits independent consideration, however more can be learned about its date, meaning, and the circumstances of its commission only if the painting is considered in relation to the decoration that surrounded it.

Francesco Sansovino recorded the following in the Crociferi chancel in 1581:

37. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, c.1555–1556

> "Iacomo Tintoretto vi dipinse la palla dell'altar maggiore, da i cui lati Alessandro Vittoria fece di stucco, Santa Helena, & Santa Barbara. Dipinsero nella medisima cappella due quadroni, Andrea Schiavone, & il Tintoretto".[68]

Ridolfi elaborated that Tintoretto had produced a lateral painting of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, "in concorenza" with Andrea Schiavone, who produced a now lost *Visitation*. The *Presentation*, which Ridolfi felt to be among the "più pregiate dell'autore", survived the demolition of the Crociferi church, but was shifted to the sacristy in the Gesuiti until it was taken to the Gallerie dell'Accademia in 1906 (fig. 37).[69] Its pendant by Schiavone disappeared sometime between the suppression of the Crociferi and the demolition of the church.[70] The *stucchi* saints Helena and Barbara were

36. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Assumption of the Virgin*, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice, c. 1553–1555 (see also figs. 41, 42, 56)

DVM SACRA PERAGVNTVR MYSTERIA, ADOLESCENS QVIDAM IMPROVISVS NVNTIAT PASCALI CICONIA D. MARCI PROC.
EVM PATRES IN LOCVM DEMORTVI DVCIS SVBSTITVISSE: CONFIRMATVRQ. MAGNI SCRIBÆ, AC DVORVM A SECRETIS
ADVENTV SCEPTRVM FERENTIVM. XVIII. AVGVSTI. M.D.LXXXV.

among the few works by Vittoria noted by Vasari in 1568:

> "nella chiesa de' Crocichieri fece di stucco due figure alte sei piedi l'una, poste all'altare maggiore, molto belle".[71]

While his brief description provides some notion of their considerable size—in excess of six feet tall— his approval is also telling. Knowing of Vasari's strong preference for the grandeur and monumentality of Michelangelo's sculpture, and of its influence on Vittoria, his comments suggest that the sculptor achieved an impressive, and perhaps even Michelangesque result at the church.[72] These saints were listed in the 1656 inventory as "dui statui di rillievo una per part d'essa Pala [the *Assunta*], but they were destroyed when the church was demolished".[73]

A preparatory drawing made by Palma il Giovane for a painting in the oratory of c. 1585-88, as well as the resulting painting, provide some impression of the area around the high altar (figs. 38-39).[74] The altar was elevated, positioned at the top of a flight of steps. The *stucco* saints can be made out in the drawing; figures in recessed niches that were positioned about six feet above the floor. Analogous *stucco* saints in scallop shell niches on the Zane altar at the Frari provide some idea of how they might have looked (fig. 40). Both the Palma drawing and painting suggest that the altarpiece was framed by monumental architecture; engaged pilasters of Istrian stone, possibly with some additional marble columns flanking the altarpiece. The custom of the time was

39. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Preparatory drawing for *Pasquale Cicogna Receives Word of his Election at the High Altar of the Crociferi Church*, private collection, Shropshire, c. 1585-1588

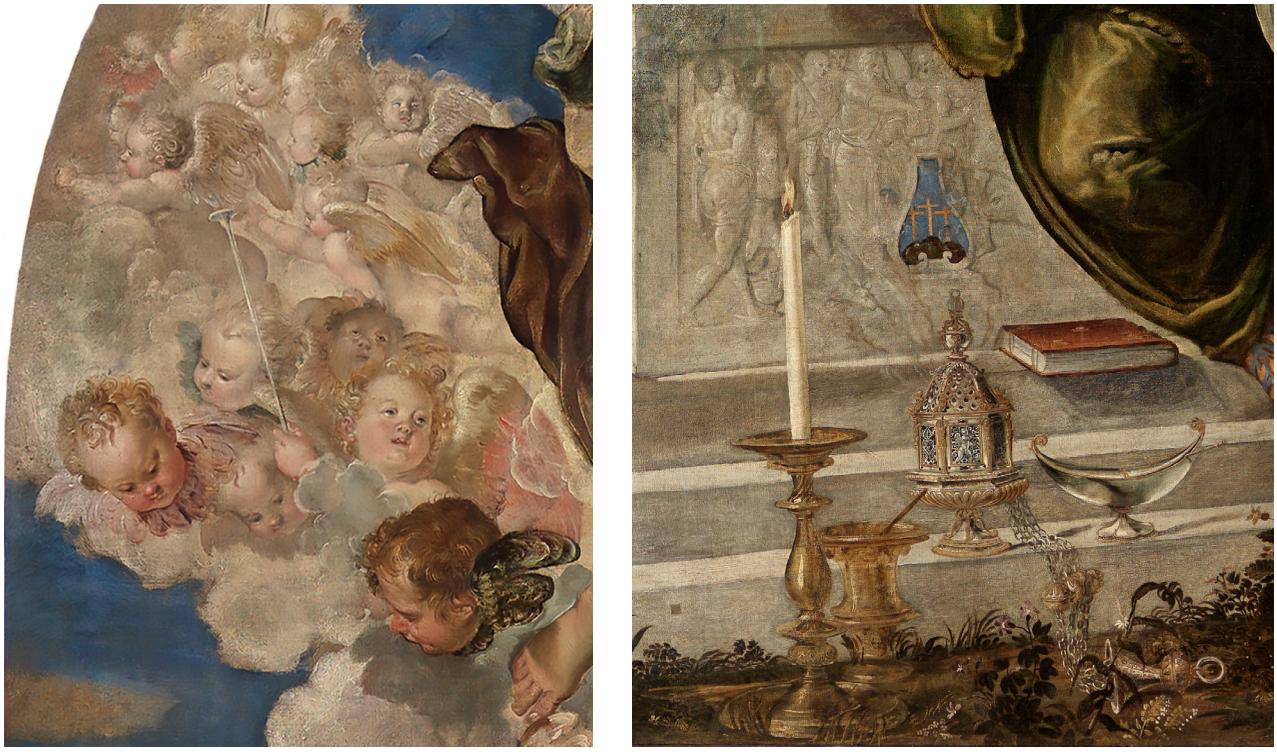
38. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pasquale Cicogna Receives Word of his Election as Doge at the High Altar of the Crociferi Church*, Oratorio dei Crociferi, c. 1585-1588

for *all'antica* frames, sometimes topped with a triangular pediment.[75] The bottom of the altarpiece—visible in the Palma painting behind a rather large tabernacle—would have been positioned above the eye level of the average viewer standing at the base of the stairs. The lateral paintings were probably hung at a similar height, something that is more or less confirmed by the perspective Tintoretto employed in the *Presentation*, which also suggests that it hung to the right of the altar.[76] The general proportion of the space Palma depicted is consistent with the known dimensions of the chancel, which spanned around 6.5m. The altarpiece, a work measuring 440 × 260 cm, would have occupied just over a third of the wall, leaving about two meters on either side to accommodate the *stucchi*. The overall effect of the chancel, with its altarpiece, monumental framing, gilded tabernacle and lateral pictures, would have been quite grand (fig. 41).

The altarpiece was in the traditional format of the time: vertical with a rounded top. The Virgin, clad in fluttering pink and ultramarine blue robes, is assumed into heaven at the summit of the canvas, supported by two large angels and assisted

40. Alessandro Vittoria, *Zane Altar* (*St. Jerome* flanked by *St. Peter* and *St. Andrew*), c. 1563–1566, Basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice

41. Reconstruction of Tintoretto's paintings in the presbytery of the Church of the Crociferi, Venice (see figs. 36–37, 69)



42. Jacopo Tintoretto, Crociferi *Assumption* (details, see fig. 36)

by smaller cherubim. Her victory is trumpeted by a host of seraphim that seem to bob and dissolve around her, lending the scene a hint of supernatural chaos (fig. 42). The dispersion of the angels across the canvas marks the path of the Virgin's ascent. Mary's gaze is directed upwards in anticipation of a long-awaited reunion, her cares no longer of this world. She pays no attention to the eleven apostles left behind; the ever tardy and dubious Thomas has yet to arrive. Their gestures, ranging from exaggerated and theatrical, to calm repose, provide the viewer with a variety of responses to the miracle occurring above, and guide the gaze upward. The arrangement of figures around the empty antique sarcophagus, diagonally placed and elevated on three steps, provides some welcome depth to the stacked picture plane, giving the impression that the painting is an extension of real space. The *arca*, with its detailed bas-relief bearing the Crociferi symbol, is surrounded by a delicate, positively miniaturist floral/liturgical still life (fig. 42).

Such attention to detail, and the degree of high finish that characterize both of the paintings Tintoretto produced for the chancel, is also marked in the third and final work he would produce for the Crociferi, a *Wedding at Cana* for their refectory (now in the sacristy of Santa Maria della Salute), signed and dated 1561 (figs. 43, 62). All three paintings have been accepted as autograph works with minimal, if any shop intervention, and could be considered hallmarks of

43. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Wedding at Cana*, 1561, Sacristy, Basilica of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice

the artist's concern for meaningfully integrating his works— both symbolically and compositionally—into their physical contexts. It is, however, a fact that Tintoretto did not lavish the same sort of care on every commission. During the early years of his career, writers such as Aretino and Vasari criticized his habit of merely creating an illusion of finish in order to increase output. It was viewed as a problematic form of *prestezza*, a pronounced roughness, or carelessness in style, the antithesis to the praised *sprezzatura* of Titian.[77] This characterization of Tintoretto's work has dominated his critical fortune ever since, and it is precisely the variability throughout his oeuvre that so often makes it a challenge to date his paintings on a purely stylistic basis.[78] The 2007 monographic exhibition at the Prado did much to rehabilitate Tintoretto's reputation by showcasing the many gems in an admittedly patchy career, and also provided some important markers for the various decades of his activity. I will argue that the quality and quantity of the paintings he produced for the monastery serve as clues to both the period to which they might be assigned, and to the discerning taste and involvement of the patrons, un-

doubtedly the Crociferi themselves.

Tintoretto's *Assunta*: Commission

What little we know about the circumstances of the altarpiece commission comes from Carlo Ridolfi's 1642 biography of Tintoretto:

> "Ne' Padri Crociferi, nella maggior Cappella, fece la tavola con lo ascendere di Nostra Signora al Cielo; & tutto che que' Padri havessero terminato, che Paolo Veronese facesse quella Pittura, seppe il Tintoretto tanto dire, promettendogli, che l'averebbe fatto sù lo stile medesimo di Paolo, sì che ogn'uno l'haverebbe fatta sù lo stile medesimo di Paolo, sì che ogn'uno l'haverebbe creduta di sua mano, che ne ottenne lo impiego. Ne vanamente promise, poiche in effetto fece un misto in quella tavola di fiero e di vago, che bene dimostrò, che per ogni modo sapeva dipingere, trasformandosi in ogni qual maniera fosse aggradevole".[79]

One must proceed with caution when the fulcrum of an argument consists of a biographical anecdote, particularly one recorded long after the fact. In this case, it should be acknowledged that Ridolfi's account might not be totally authoritative. His formula for the artist biography follows a well-established pattern that was initiated by Pliny the Elder and was repeated most famously by Vasari. His debt to these authors is betrayed not only by the details he occasionally borrows, but also in the formulae for anecdotes that serve his larger narrative agenda. He is known to exaggerate, and is occasionally just plain wrong, often because of his dependence on earlier accounts.[80] As most contemporary studies agree, our knowledge of Tintoretto's shop practices, particularly regarding his close study of prints, drawings and sculptural reproductions, can be credited to Ridolfi's testimony.[81] This information has been imperative to our understanding of the way Tintoretto's paintings appear as they do, and how he manages to respond to artistic innovations occurring outside of a city he never really left.[82] Ridolfi was among the very first to undertake a life of Tintoretto, and among others who wrote about the artist in the proximity of his lifetime, he was the only one that was permanently on the Venetian scene.[83] He is precise in his descriptions, making able identifications of the authorship, subject and quality of the pictures he discusses. He was well placed to come by his knowledge as a practicing (albeit not particularly accomplished) painter in the milieu in which Tintoretto had circulated short decades before. He was a pupil of Aliense, a late mannerist follower of both Tintoretto and Veronese, who also contributed a painting to the church of the Crociferi. Ridolfi himself produced multiple works for the Crociferi monastery in Conegliano, which was dependent on the Venetian house.[84] Ri-

dolfi knew Jacopo's son, Domenico Tintoretto, who is known to have painted the author's portrait.[85] Thus, there are just as many reasons to trust Ridolfi's credibility, and indeed, the Crociferi anecdote seems just the sort a son might recount to a biographer in fond remembrance of his determined father, or even the kind a Crocifero might relate about their altarpiece.

It is largely from Ridolfi's portrait that history has formed its image of this artist: the cunning cloth dyer's son, the native Venetian who was as intimate with the working class as he was the patriciate, a man who went to great lengths to make his mark. The Crociferi anecdote stands alongside other fabulous tales of Tintoretto's notorious methods of self-promotion related by Ridolfi, including the most notorious example of his competitive streak: the competition to paint the ceiling of the *albergo* of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco.[86] When he was not offering to work in the style of his competitors, or installing works before they had been officially commissioned, Tintoretto was also known to actively solicit work and undercut his competitors by offering to work at lightning speed and a bargain price.[87] But even to a modern audience, Tintoretto's offer to paint in another artist's style is decidedly subversive, and it is safe to assume that Veronese felt much the same way. Perhaps Paolo even had the Crociferi slight in mind when he stated, according to Ridolfi, that he "appreciated Tintoretto's genius", but did not approve of his habit of working "ad ogni maniera", believing it would destroy the reputation of the profession of painting.[88]

Tintoretto's *Assunta*: Dating, Competition and Style

Anecdotes that demonstrate an attempt to deceive and outwit often emerge in the chapter of biography that deals with the adversity of the early career.[89] Although it must be admitted that Tintoretto never totally abandoned such scheming, the story Ridolfi relates about the Crociferi commission clearly belongs to the period of establishment, in which he was most aggressive in his self-promotion.

Competition amongst Venetian artists was at its peak during the mid-sixteenth century, as recent exhibitions in Boston and Paris have emphasised.[90] Unlike Titian and Veronese, Tintoretto was not always the preferred candidate for major public commissions, nor did he enjoy court patronage in the same way his two major competitors did. By mid-career, with a large family to feed, he did not have the luxury of refusing commissions or turning pictures to the wall for years at a time as Titian did.[91] While Titian increased his prices, Tintoretto frequently presented pictures as gifts. In the 1560's Tintoretto initiated a major decorative project in the apse the Madonna dell'Orto by volunteering his labour, if the prior would provide the materials for the Making of the Golden Calf and Last Judgment. He

44. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Presentation of the Virgin*, Madonna dell'Orto, Venice, c. 1554-1556

volunteered to produce façade frescoes at important *palazzi* to advertise his talent, and while Veronese minimized his humble origins in pursuit of an aristocratic audience, Tintoretto deliberately emphasised his working-class roots, producing work cheaply for modest confraternities. He was working on the astute notion that one well-placed picture might lead to many more, and as the three Crociferi paintings testify, it often worked.[92] I would suggest that Tintoretto's offer to the Crociferi is best understood in light of circumstances particular to the mid-1550's, precisely as he was faced with the arrival of a formidable new adversary.

Ridolfi writes:

> "Having Veronese as a competitor caused Tintoretto to put greater effort into these paintings, for rivalry sometimes serves as a spur, making the artist

45. (left) Jacopo Tintoretto, *St. Ursula and the Ten Thousand Virgins*, 1554-1555, Church of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti (formerly in the Church of the Incurabili)

46. (right) Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Apparition of the Cross to St. Peter*, 1555, Church of the Madonna dell'Orto, Venice

more attentive so as not to fall behind his competitor".[93]

The rather uncharacteristic polish of the three Crociferi paintings has already been noted, and one need only look to other works following Veronese's arrival in Venice in 1553, such as the Madonna dell'Orto *Presentation of the Virgin*, to find like examples of such buttery textures, diligent colour harmonies, and the use of quality pigments (fig. 44).[94] All three Crociferi works could be considered typical of a period during which Tintoretto's style shows a marked response to Veronese. Many who have written about

the *Assunta* and *Presentation in the Temple* have noted the strong influence of Paolo. Ridolfi states as a means of praise of the Crociferi *pala*, that Tintoretto proved he could work in any style, but never offers an evaluation of how closely the altarpiece really comes to approximating Veronese's style. He remarks on its "vigor", a quality one would expect to find in any representation of this subject following Titian's seminal Frari *Assumption*. He also invokes the ambiguous term "vago", roughly analogous to the frequent refrain of early art criticism, the "non so che".[95] In this instance, "charm" seems the appropriate label to apply to the stylistic qualities that Tintoretto appears to have distilled from his rival; above all the palette of jewel tones and luminous decorative manner. He has attempted to minimize hallmarks of his own emerging techniques—dramatic *chiaroscuro* and pronounced brushwork—and has substituted his plunging perspective for a shallow space that defies a sense of depth. A few years later Boschini's praise of the *Assumption* was perhaps overstated, when he noted the visibility of the styles of Schiavone, Bassano, Titian and Veronese all at once.[96] Pallucchini and Rossi observed:

> "Il dipinto quindi nacque con un assunto ben preciso, in cui il 'veronesismo'... appare ovviamente più programmatico nella stessa chiarità atmosferica e nelle tinte brillanti".[97]

They linked the picture to other paintings more securely dated to this period that show a marked reference to the style of Veronese including the San Severo *Crucifixion* (1554-1555), *St. Ursula and the Ten Thousand Virgins* (San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, 1554-1555) (fig. 45), and the *Apparition of the Cross to St. Peter* (Madonna dell'Orto, 1556) (fig. 46).[98] Based mostly on elements of style, a date between 1555-60 has generally been applied to the Crociferi *Assumption*, and 1554-6 to the *Presentation*.[99] Indeed, the latter was shown in the 2007 Prado exhibition amongst other works characteristic of this period of production.[100]

It might be fair to say that the altarpiece could be viewed as somewhat atypical of Tintoretto, and perhaps more like a Veronese, something that I think is confirmed and in other ways complicated by a possible rejected first version of the Crociferi *Assumption*, now in the Obere Pfarrkirche, Bamberg (fig. 47).[101] The works are indeed very close compositionally, and most compellingly, are virtually identical in dimensions.[102] Veronese is referenced in the sparkling silvery atmosphere, but also in the distinctly female angels with bejewelled hair and ornate dress, which, along with the scantily clad Christ, Erasmus Weddigen postulates might have resulted in a rejection of the picture as indecorous. The iconography of this painting will be discussed shortly, but stylistically it also conforms

47. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1553-1556, Obere Pfarrkirche, Bamberg

to this period of Veronesian influence.

If we accept a date of around 1555-60 for the chancel paintings, we must question what possible local testimonial there would have been for Veronese's ability to produce an altarpiece for the Crociferi. What could have led the *frati* to desire a work by his hand? And what, for that matter, would Tintoretto have known of his rival's work, from which inspiration for a comparable effort might be drawn? Up until his arrival in Venice in 1553, Veronese had only produced one altarpiece in the city, the *Giustinian Altarpiece* (c. 1551) from San Francesco della Vigna (fig. 48), a *sacra conversazione* that owed much to Titian's *Pesaro Altarpiece*. By 1555 some of his work for San Sebastiano would presumably have been visible, and perhaps the main hall of the Marciana library. These prominent commissions could hardly have escaped any interested party. Titian and Jacopo Sansovino had excluded Tintoretto from the competition for the Marciana ceiling, awarding Veronese the golden chain and publicly championing him as the heir for major public projects. At San Sebastiano, Veronese's initial commission to decorate the sacristy ceiling turned into a much larger project to decorate the entire church. In 1555, Tintoretto would have been smarting from the Marciana slight, and eager to put a visible stamp on another major monastic church. A date for the commission around 1555 might also explain the initial desire for a Veronese on the part of the Crociferi. A 1555 *decime* establishes that Veronese was renting a house from Vincenzo Zen (q. Pietro), just around the corner from the church.[103] This made him neighbour, not only to the Crociferi, but also to the Zen, whose connections to the Crociferi church dated back to the Trecento. A member of the family may have recommended their tenant to the brothers. It is well known that Veronese enjoyed patrician support even before his arrival in Venice, and given the patrician demographic at the Crociferi monastery, their desire to hire an artist so in demand amongst the elite is understandable.

It must have been a particularly discouraging moment for Tintoretto, being overlooked in favour of a young upstart from the mainland. It is not difficult to imagine him offering his services to the Crociferi at a reduced rate and with a promise of a quick delivery. One can almost imagine Tintoretto suggesting the addition of a few lateral paintings, a growing trend in other Venetian presbyteries.[104] And following this, a large-scale supper picture for the refectory, another genre increasingly in demand. These additional commissions are informative regarding the dating, considering the Crociferi would certainly have prioritized the commissioning of an altarpiece before adding two supporting images, or a refectory painting. We can therefore secure a *terminus ante quem* of 1561 to the chancel redecoration, given the *Wedding at Cana* is signed and dated to this year.[105] While scholars have wavered slightly on the dat-

48. Paolo Veronese, *Giustinian Altarpiece*, 1551, Church of San Francesco della Vigna, Venice

ing of the *Assumption*, they have consistently accepted the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* as a work of 1554-6. If we accept that the Bamberg picture is a rejected first version, I would suggest that the two altarpieces were probably executed sometime between 1553-1555, followed quite closely by the lateral paintings. I view the *stucchi* by Alessandro Vittoria as an integral part of the grand effect the Crociferi were attempting to achieve, rather than an afterthought, and indeed they also fit nicely into this window, as Vittoria returned to Venice in 1553 after a period of two years in Trent and Vicenza. It would hardly have made logistical sense for work on the *stucchi* to follow the installation of the altarpiece, so they were probably executed at the same time as the frame. The virtually identical dimensions of the Bamberg and Crociferi versions of the Assumption remain the most convincing evidence, not only for the argument for the rejected first effort, but also for a pre-existing framing structure. It was also from about 1552 onward that Vittoria's work was "profoundly indebted to Michelangelo", something that Victoria Avery has argued was fuelled by his collaborations during this decade with other artists, including Tintoretto, who shared his interest in the Florentine master.[106] The monumental figures in the foreground of Tintoretto's *Presentation* also suggest a reaction to Michelangelo, perhaps even filtered through the Vittoria *stucchi*, which were clearly already present, as Tintoretto included similar figures in niches in the backdrop of the rounded classical apse, an illusionistic extension of the acutal space. One wonders if the composition of Schiavone's *Visitation* was similarly arranged, taking into consideration the lateral approach to the altar, perhaps with an architectural setting. We might also pause here to recall Ridolfi's testimony that Tintoretto produced his lateral painting "in concorrenza" with the elder Schiavone. While the terminology suggests a sort of competition, I think Ridolfi's remarks are more aptly interpreted as an observation of a playful dialogue. By the mid-1550's Schiavone was in the winter of his career, and it would already have been abundantly clear that the junior Tintoretto was poised to be a formidable player on the Venetian art scene. The Crociferi commission presented an opportunity to showcase their virtuosity, for each to respond to the other's ideas, for the viewer to observe the late manner of the master juxtaposed to the maturing style of the pupil (even if that relationship was unofficial). We can be sure the result of this collaboration—not only between Tintoretto and Schiavone, but also with Vittoria–was striking, something that the loss of the original arrangement prevents us from fully appreciating. These artists were friends, competitors, and at this moment they were all keen to respond to each other, and to artistic innovations occurring outside of the city. Perhaps the high degree of finish and detail that has so often been praised in Tintoretto's Crociferi paintings was not solely a result of his desire to top Veronese, but was also inspired by the calibre of the other artists at

work in the space.

The fact that Tintoretto was asked to produce multiple paintings for the Crociferi suggests that they cannot have been unhappy with the result. One doubts that they ever passed off their *Assumption* as a Veronese, but their initial determination to have a work by this rising star implies their awareness of the cachet that accompanied the ownership of a work by his hand, and therefore the latest artistic developments. While the Ridolfian anecdote suggests Tintoretto's initial willingness to surrender the triumph of authorship, the result is not entirely convincing; his vigorous, irrepressible style comes through. His promise to the Crociferi belongs to his corporate approach to marketing, while the result is actually more of a verisimilitude. Once Tintoretto obtained the opportunity, his effort at imitation was aimed at exposing the work of his competitor as overrated by showcasing his own ability to produce something of the like with a flair all his own. The three extremely high quality works he produces for the Crociferi are testament to his desire to prove himself; as Ridolfi stated:

> "[Tintoretto] knew how to bring his paintings to an exquisite finish when he judged it opportune and when the occasion and the quality of the place required it".[107]

Perhaps he knew that the Crociferi were discerning patrons. If he did not know from the outset, the potential rejection of his first effort would have been enlightening. Or perhaps Tintoretto knew that something else was also at stake: the approval of their influential patrician protectors.

Tintoretto's Assunta: Patronage of the Altarpiece

Although Ridolfi's anecdote clearly suggests that the Crociferi were in charge of the commission for their altarpiece, arguments for alternative patrons have been made. As will be demonstrated, the lateral paintings were provided by guilds that used the main altar for their devotional exercises. Although corporate patronage of a high altar was not without precedent in parish churches, it would be unusual in the context of a monastic church. It is more likely that these guilds paid for use of the space, even provided decoration for it, but did not possess rights. Merkel made a rather feeble argument for the involvement of Paola Priuli, the widow of Francesco Querini. They were indeed patrons of art, however their devotional interests were focused on the parish of Santa Maria Formosa, the campo in which they had a palazzo.[108] His main evidence is their remote connection to the branch of the Querini family of which Elisabetta Massolo, another Crociferi patron, was a member, and the fact that a distant descendant assumed responsibility for the altar to which the Jesuits relocated the Tintoretto *Assumption*.[109] Their involvement is completely refuted by the

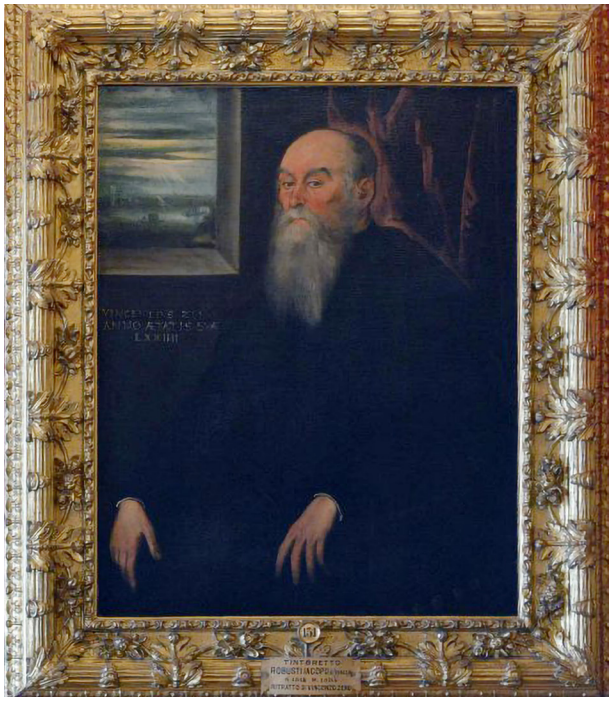
records of the 1581 apostolic visit, which clearly states which altars were under the patronage of individuals or confraternities, and the rights to the high altar belonged to neither.[110]

It is difficult to say how desperate the financial situation was at the monastery as a result of the *commenda*, but it would be fair to assume that such a massive decorative project must have been aided, at least partly, by funds external to the monastery. Occasionally the state might contribute funds to such projects, usually via the Provveditori al Sal, however my investigation failed to reveal any such endowment to the Crociferi. A few alternatives should be considered. There are recorded cases of monetary contributions being made to decorative projects on the part of individual members of the clergy. For example, the prior of San Pietro Martire, Bartolomeo d'Alzano, used proceeds from his literary activities to finance an altarpiece by Fra Bartolomeo.[111] Fra Germano probably used communal funds raised from his monastery to fund the Titian *Assumption*.[112] The possibility that the funds were raised amongst the Crociferi cannot be discounted, considering the wealthy pedigree of many of the *frati*, their involvement in public preaching (which attracted almsgiving), literary and theatrical pursuits. Recalling the involvement of Alvise Dardani in the rebuilding of the church, the potential contributions of private patrons or lay procurators must also be considered. The longstanding relationship between the Crociferi and the Zen family has already been noted. The Cinquecento generation of the family demonstrated particular attachment to the church; the patriarch of the Zen ai Crosecchieri line, Pietro (1457-1539), founded a burial chapel in the church in 1538 in which he and his son Caterino were buried. A marriage between Pietro's daughter, Barbara, and Priamo da Lezze (1467-1557), one of the most distinguished statesmen of the day, secured a close alliance between these powerful families and provided the Crociferi with yet another set of supporters.[113] In 1550 Giovanni da Lezze (1510-1580)—like his father Priamo, a Procurator of St Mark—made provision in his testament for burial in the Crociferi church. The resulting monument to Giovanni, Priamo and Giovanni's son Andrea by Alessandro Vittoria was completed over the following decades. It has generally been assumed that Giovanni's choice of the church of the Crociferi was inspired by the family connection to the Zen.[114] While the Zen might have initially attracted the Da Lezze family to the church, Priamo and Giovanni probably had a much more personal connection to the monastery as lay procurators.

My research revealed that several generations of the Zen family served as lay protectors, a position that seems to have frequently passed from father to son. Notarial documents confirm that Pietro's eldest son, Caterino (1481-1556), senator and ambassador to Persia, was their protector for more than twenty-five years.[115]

Caterino's son, Nicolò Zen (1515-1565), also served as procurator, and his son, Nicolò, became a Crocifero.[116] In 1554 a dispute arose between the Crociferi and Nicolò Zen, and he resigned.[117] In his resignation he outlines his contributions to their hospital: "che vi ho rifabricato di nove senza vostro danno, senza vostra spesa, senza vostra faticha" and notes that land was given in front of the Palazzo Zen and on the side of the monastery to build a *lavandera*, for which, he adds, he has yet to receive any money.[118] About the time of his resignation, his political career flourished, and he went on to hold a series of extremely influential governmental posts over the following decade in which he assumed a leading role in major urban renovations.[119] The proceedings to elect new procurators following Zen's departure resulted in the appointment in 1555 of the patricians Giovan Andrea da Mosto, Giovan Alvise Grimani and Giacomo Gussoni by prior Giuliano Cirno and the *capitolo*. They would join Stefano Tiepolo, Senator and Procurator of San Marco, who had served alongside Nicolò Zen for a time, and by 1554 had been procurator for at least twelve years.[120] In an election of June 1556 Priamo da Lezze was added to the list of candidates for procurator, and although he is never explicitly referred to as "procurator", Giovanni da Lezze frequently witnessed notarial documents on behalf of the monastery, particularly around 1577[121], the year in which the Crociferi elected Cavaliere and Procurator of San Marco *de ultra*, Paolo Tiepolo (1523-85), the eldest son of Stefano, as their procurator, just a year before he was also elected "protettore e procuratore" of Santi Giovanni e Paolo.[122]

Stefano Tiepolo, as it happens, had a connection to Lorenzo Massolo and Elisabetta Querini, patrons of Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, albeit not a particularly happy one. In 1537 Pietro Massolo, the couple's young son wed Stefano's daughter, Chiara. After only seventeen months of marriage, Pietro bludgeoned his young bride and fled to the Benedictine monastery of San Benedetto in Polirone near Mantua.[123] A decade later his family sought a pardon, and enlisted the help of some of their connected friends, including Giovanni della Casa, the papal nuncio to Venice (1544-49) who was a friend of Stefano Tiepolo and enjoyed a close relationship with Elisabetta. She was a muse for his poetry, and they were both, incidentally, patrons of Titian.[124] In 1546 Della Casa approached Tiepolo on behalf of the Massolo couple in hopes he would intervene for a pardon. It may have been his friendship with Stefano and/or Elisabetta, or perhaps his avid literary interests that encouraged his own protection of the Crociferi.[125] He appealed to cardinal Alessandro Farnese on behalf of the monastery, as he had on behalf of Titian, but in the case of the Crociferi for the favour of a tax reduction in 1544.[126] A letter of 19 April 1555 to his nephew, Annibale Rucellai, a member of the household of Cardinal Carafa in



49. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Portrait of Vincenzo Zen*, 1560–1565, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence

Rome, records his ongoing advocacy for the monastery at Tiepolo's behest:

> "Papa Clemente Sua Maestà ordinò, credo per un preve, le facultà del generale de' Crocicchieri, la quale ordinatione si è osservata fino a qui senza strepito. Hora questo general presente par che havessi ottenuto un altro breve da Papa Iulio, per il quale si ampliavano le sue facultà, il che dispiace non solo a questi Padri ma a tutta la città, massimamente perché pare che non si proceda in tutto sinceramente ma con qualche rancore come è usanza de' frati il più delle volte, et oltra ciò che si volgia metter mano nella administration delle entrate, il che questi Signori sentono pessimamente mal volentieri. Il clarissimo Messer Stefano Tiepolo mi ha pregato che io scriva in raccomandatione de' frati a Sant'Angelo et a San Vitale, et così ho fatto più diligentemente ch'io ho saputo... Tu sai quanto il clarissimo Messer Stefano merita apresso d'ogniuno, et quanto noi siamo obligati alla sua bontà et cortesia, et perciò in questa occasione sforzati di mostrarli gratitudine. Può esser che la sopradetta informatione non sia vero in tutto, perciò riferisciti a quell che ti dirà il procurator dei dei frati et habbia a cuore".[127]

In addition to connecting Della Casa to the Crociferi, this letter is an ideal demonstration of the function of a lay procurator. As the case of Dardani demonstrated, these individuals played an intercessory role on behalf of the monastery, particularly at moments of strife.[128] It is telling that by the mid-1550's, just as they were initiating this project of decorative renovation, the Crociferi were no longer content with having just one or two lay procurators, but had enlisted as many as five, and influential ones at that. Three of the six men Francesco Sansovino singled out in 1561 as examples of the Venetian patrician ideal can be traced to the Crociferi: Pietro Zen, Priamo da Lezze and Stefano Tiepolo.[129] The monastery was quite simply allied with some of the most respected members of the ruling class, which is why it is not entirely surprising that it was during these same years that the Republic began actively appealing to Rome on behalf of

50. (left) Jacopo Tintoretto, *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Gold Chain* (*Nicolò Zen?*), c. 1555-1560, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

51. (right) Titian, *Portrait of Nicolò Zen*, c. 1547-1550, Kingston Lacy Collection, Dorset

the monastery for the restoration of their privileges and release from the *commenda*.

Many of their protectors also happened to be major patrons of art. Tintoretto had several connections to the Zen. He painted the portrait of Pietro's son, Vincenzo Zen, (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) (fig. 49),[130] and Ornetta Pinessi has recently argued that a Tintoretto portrait in the Prado is in fact a depiction of Nicolò Zen (fig. 50).[131] Her hypothesis relies heavily on the sitter's likeness to Titian's portrait of a clearly younger Nicolò at the Kingston Lacy Collection (fig. 51).[132] The dating of these portraits remains a matter of conjecture, but the arguments for the identity of the sitter are convincing, particularly in light of the circles in which Zen travelled. In addition to his active life in government, Nicolò was engaged in various learned pursuits that brought him into the humanist circle of Pietro Aretino, among others.[133] His interest in architecture undoubtedly formed the basis of his friendship with Daniele Barbaro, patron of Palladio, who also sat for a portrait by Titian. In 1557 Nicolò published his history of the origins of Venice with the printer Francesco Marcolini, who had been a favourite of his grandfather, and who also

52. View of Palazzo Zen from the Rio di Santa Caterina (see also page 255)

shared a close paternal relationship with Tintoretto. The Zen owned a Tintoretto *Madonna adored by members of the Zen family* (unidentified), a *Christ and the Adulteress* (Rome, Galleria Nazionale) and an *Entry into Jerusalem* (Florence, Uffizi).[134] The last two date to about 1551, and thus secure a connection between Tintoretto and the Zen previous to his work at the Crociferi church. Ridolfi noted that Tintoretto joined Andrea Schiavone in frescoing the façade of the Palazzo Zen, undoubtedly in the early part of his career (figs. 52–53).[135] Pietro Zen had left instructions in his 1538 testament that the palazzo, still in construction, should be painted with scenes celebrating the achievements of his ancestors.[136] Presumably Schiavone and Tintoretto were hired to carry out his wishes, with Schiavone in charge. Tintoretto's contributions, a "donna distesa" on the Rio Santa Caterina façade, and a *Conversion of St. Paul* on the campo façade, had all but faded by the time Zanetti turned his attention to the fresco fragments, making dating of the work problematic.[137] Much depends on the chronology of the building of the palazzo itself, which started around 1537, but was evidently not complete until around 1562.[138] Paoletti dated the project

53. Canaletto, View of Palazzo Zen from *Campo dei Gesuiti* (detail, fig. 21; see also figs. 147)

to around 1553, however Pallucchini was justifiably critical of this date, preferring to assign it to the previous decade when Tintoretto could more reasonably be imagined assisting the elder Schiavone.[139] It is conceivable that the parts of the palazzo he frescoed were complete in the late 1540's, and that Tintoretto's more modest contribution of a "donna distesa" belonged to a first phase of the project led by Schiavone.[140] By around 1556, when the campo façade was complete, a more established Tintoretto might have returned to complete the more complicated scene of the *Conversion* that was so praised by Ridolfi and Boschini. Ridolfi also notes two further early commissions in the campo immediately following his description of the Zen frescoes: a narrative frieze of the life of St. Barbara for the meeting house of the tailors guild,[141] and a fresco of St. Christopher on the façade of the meetinghouse of the silk-weavers, both to the right of the church.[142] Tintoretto's very public work on these nearby buildings may also have brought him to the attention of the Crociferi.

Priamo and Giovanni da Lezze were also patrons of Tintoretto, who painted Priamo's portrait, and worked at the house of Giovanni on an unspecified project from 1565-7.[143] As Procuratori, Priamo and Giovanni were involved in various renovations at the Palazzo Ducale, Marciana Library and Procuratia, and Giovanni da Lezze was among those responsible for commissioning *stucchi* at each of these places from Alessandro Vittoria (c.1553-60), and Giovanni commissioned a bust of his father from Vittoria sometime around 1566.[144] In 1553 Giovanni da Lezze, Stefano Tiepolo and Filippo Tron (another individual listed in the 1556 election of lay procurators) were all depicted as witnesses in Tintoretto's 1553 *Emperor Frederick receiving the Imperial Crown from Pope Adrian* (destroyed) in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio.[145]

The fact that all three artists involved in the chancel decoration had connections to these individuals supports the possibility that the input of lay supporters was

a factor in securing the Crociferi commission for Tintoretto, Schiavone and Vittoria. Since a number of these wealthy individuals planned to be buried in the church, they might also have had some financial investment in a decorative project that would refurbish and update the principal liturgical space. There is little doubt that the Crociferi were consciously enlisting patrician procurators, not only as potential benefactors, but to intercede on their behalf. In the document in which they suspend Nicolò Zen, they state it themselves:

> "nostri Padroni et gentilhomini de la qualità che tutta la cit[t]à mande et atti a defender per justitia le cose nostre".[146]

Their advocacy was surely one means by which the Venetian Crociferi emerged from the *commenda* and rebuild their reputation.

Toward a Marian Programme: Tintoretto's *Assunta* and its *Laterali*

As Michael Matile and Paul Hills have shown, *quadri laterali*—longitudinal narrative paintings designed for lateral walls—developed in sixteenth-century Venice concurrently with the proliferation of Scuole del Sacramento, confraternities devoted to the care, promotion and distribution of the sacrament in parish churches.[147] New emphasis on the Eucharist and its proper reservation in response to the Protestant challenge resulted in alterations to the space surrounding the high altar, where the sacrament was increasingly kept. In some cases renovations were required in the presbyteries for reasons of decorum, and to accommodate the devotional activities of these confraternities. These *scuole* sometimes commissioned art to attract and engage their membership, including lateral paintings, which often hung above the *banco* at which they congregated.[148] Because it was a monastic church, there was no such confraternity at the church of the Crociferi, but the sacrament was indeed reserved on the high altar, something that may have contributed to their desire to renovate their chancel.[149] The church was, however, the centre of the religious life of four trade guilds: the tailors, silk-weavers, barrel-makers and furriers. Both the *botteri* and *varoteri* had been associated with the Crociferi church since at least the late fifteenth century, however the *botteri* seem not to have possessed a side altar, instead using the high altar to carry out their devotional activities.[150] These corporate organisations also had a vested interest in the appearance of the church, particularly those that used the chancel for their devotional activities. A number of scholars have argued that the Tintoretto *Presentation* (fig. 37) and Schiavone *Visitation* were provided by the guilds of the *botteri* and *varoteri* respectively.[151] The barrelmakers were dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin, a Marian mystery synonymous with the Presentation of Christ in the

Temple[152], and while the furriers cared for an altar dedicated to St. Lanfranc, their own dedication was to the Visitation.[153] The rather scant archival material that survives for these guilds does provide some evidence of their possession of the works. We know both guilds had a tradition of solemnly processing to the altar each year on their respective feast days, where the *frati* were obligated to sing mass.[154] A 1645 inventory of the possessions of the *varoteri* notes:

> "Ritrovandosi al presente nella chiesa delli crosechieri: Su il altar grande un quadro dilla nostra veneranda".[155]

In this same year the *varoteri* voted to spend 30 ducats to "restaurare il quadro della scuola che è sull'altare maggiore... di gran valsente". This is the last we hear of what must have been the Schiavone. Neither the *Visitation* nor the *Presentation* were included in the inventory of the church in 1656, probably because they could not be counted amongst the assets being inventoried for sale, or perhaps because by 1656 the *Visitation* had been lost to a botched restoration.[156] A 1715 accord between the *botteri* and the Jesuits provides clarification. This document records an agreement made on the occasion of the rebuilding of the *cappella maggiore*, where the *scuola* carried out its "divoti essercitij". It makes clear that there would not be room for the "Palla Grande di M.ª Vergine Assunta Titolare d'essa Chiesa" on the new high altar, which was being renovated at the expense of the Manin family and would be dedicated to the sacrament. The *Assumption* would be transported to a "decoroso" altar to the right of the church. To this altar would be transferred "ogni e qualunque Ius, prerogativa, Raggione e Possesso di fari li soliti devoti essercitij, che detta Arte teneva, et esserciteva all'antedette Altare e Capella maggiore". While this document does indicate that the guild had some rights to the *cappella maggiore*, it does not explicitly claim full patronage rights to the space, or to the altarpiece.[157] It does, however, specify their ownership of the Tintoretto *laterale*:

> "Che il Quadro della Purificatione di Mª Vᵉ di raggione di d[ett]a Arte che Stava per avanti ad un Lato della Capella Maggiore sia conservato nella d[ett]a Capella da farsi, col segnale dell'Arte stessa come in d[ett]o Quadro s'atrova".[158]

Matile noted that the Tintoretto would only have occupied about a third of the available space on the lateral wall—leaving space for as many as two further paintings per wall—and suggests the Crociferi may have intended to create a larger Marian programme that was never realized.[159] Similar Marian cycles were created at Santa Maria Maggiore and the Scuola di Santa Maria Assunta at San Stae.[160] The attraction of the Scuola della Concezione to the Crociferi church in 1519 has already been noted; their dedication would have made them prime candidates to contribute to such a programme. Their

inventories do list two large paintings in the church, a *Meeting at the Golden Gate* and a *Nativity*, both lost.[161] Either subject would have been appropriate to a Marian scheme, however neither is ever recorded in the chancel. Martinelli's assertion that the former was by the Dalmatian painter Matteo Ponzone also places the work at a great distance from the project in question, as Ponzone arrived in Venice around 1586.[162]

My research uncovered a 1555 contract between the Crociferi and the guild of the *stampadori*, or printers, that established the church as the centre of their devotional activities, the significance of which will be discussed shortly.[163] Like the *botteri*, they would not have had an altar, but the document provides yet another example of the Crociferi drawing important guilds to their church, and in light of the date of the accord, we might consider the possibility that the Crociferi hoped the *stampadori* might also contribute some sort of decoration to the communal area of the church.

Alternatively, the size of the Tintoretto *Presentation* may simply reflect the financial limitations of the guild, rather than evidence of some larger unfinished programme. Their patronage of these works already set them apart from many of their counterparts, who were rarely able to afford more than the rights to an altar.[164] With or without the addition of further episodes, as a result of these guild contributions, the Crociferi formed a Marian programme in the chancel that was both visually engaging and iconographically challenging.

Matile and Hills have demonstrated Tintoretto's critical role in the development of the genre of *laterali*; he and his shop produced eleven sets in all.[165] His work for modest confraternities was part of his marketing practice, and by 1548 Tintoretto had worked for the fishmongers, glassblowers, tailors and silk-weavers.[166] Although his social status was elevated through marriage, his origins were working class, and he therefore had a unique ability to relate to these patrons. His strengths as a painter were particularly suited to *laterali*; their placement demanded a thoughtful approach to composition, and Tintoretto was particularly innovative in his manipulation of space. The disruption of original context often prevents us from fully appreciating the degree to which this was the case.

Chancel Decoration: Meaning and Experience

In addition to coordinating the logistics of their chancel decoration, the Crociferi seem also to have been architects of a progressive symbolic programme in the chancel, one that presented several interrelated themes on which to meditate. As a consequence of its placement at the locus for ritual worship, the altarpiece was an important means by which the central tenets of the faith could be asserted, defended and disseminated to the audi-

ence, whether lay or clerical. Catholic doctrines challenged by the Protestants found new emphasis in the altarpiece, particularly the centrality of the Eucharist and the cult of the Virgin and saints. This registered visually with a shift away from iconic imagery and subject matter, toward a proliferation of narrative subjects, which had greater dramatic force and potential to instruct. In the case of Marian churches, the preferred narrative became the Assumption, eclipsing the previously favoured subject of the Coronation, even in churches not dedicated to the mystery.[167] With the Assunta as their titular, the Crociferi were ideally positioned to adhere to this particular trend, and the resulting altarpiece was indeed responsive—perhaps even too much so—to the climate of Church reform. There are at least two good reasons why this was inevitable. The Crociferi, particularly those at Venice, were intent on achieving and maintaining reform within the order so as to be freed from the *commenda*. They would have been keen to advertise their reformed status, and one excellent way of doing so would have been by visually demonstrating their adherence to the concepts and doctrines most heavily promoted by the Church during this period. Given what is known about the learned atmosphere at the monastery, it is hard to imagine that they would not have been fully aware of how these ideas might best be expressed, something that is reflected in the iconography of the altarpiece and its typological relationship to the *laterali*. Although this phase of the decoration of their church predated the official decrees of the Council of Trent on sacred art in 1563, the Crociferi ornamented their church in a way that was demonstrative of what would eventually be sanctioned as the proper use of visual art.

The arrangement of a Marian programme would not have been challenging for the largely Venetian population at the monastery. They would have been conversant with the iconography of the Virgin Mary, who was the object of ardent religious and civic devotion in the lagoon city.[168] Venice believed herself to possess a uniquely close association with Mary; integral to Venetian ideology was the notion of her divine protection and sanction over the Republic, beginning with its founding on March 25th of the year 421, the feast of the Annunciation.[169] This connection to the Virgin was a part of the myth Venice promoted about itself as not only divinely protected[170], but also in possession of the virtues represented by its holy intercessors, in this case, as incorruptible and eternal like the Virgin.[171] Venice also possessed an important Byzantine icon, the *Nikopeia*, believed to be the portrait of the Virgin painted by the Evangelist Luke, which was solemnly processed each year on August 15th, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, creating strong association between the city and this miracle.[172]

The Assumption forms the culmination of all Marian mysteries as the glorious final reward for the Virgin's virtue,

purity and sacrifices, and above all represented her exemption from death. As the tabernacle of Christ, the Virgin was free from sin and therefore was assumed bodily into heaven, where she reigned as Queen of Heaven. The notion of bodily assumption was intimately tied to Christ's Resurrection, and therefore this subject also carried Christological meaning. The Reformation's challenge to the nature and centrality of the Eucharist resulted in a proliferation of imagery that emphasised the importance of participation in the sacrament as the only means to salvation. Also stressed was the active role of the Virgin in the redemption of mankind, through her role as Christ's mother, and participation in the Passion. The amalgamation of Marian and Eucharistic meaning carried by the subject of the Assumption made it ideal for placement on the high altar, where the sacrament was reserved and distributed, and where the faithful would pray for the Virgin's intercession.

Both subjects chosen for the *laterali* were related to the central image, communicating the justification for the Assumption. The Visitation, as related in Luke 1, marked the first recognition of the presence of the miraculously conceived Christ. Upon her arrival at the home of Elizabeth, John the Baptist, still *in utero*, leapt in his mother's womb. In that moment he was sanctified, freed from the burden of sin by the presence of the Virgin and the unborn Christ. It was sometimes argued that the Virgin was similarly sanctified while still in the womb of Anne.[173] During this visit Mary makes her longest speech, the Magnificat, in which she articulates her special status: "My soul doth magnify the Lord" and "From hence-forth all generations shall call me blessed". The Presentation, an event with significance in the lives of both Mary and Christ, prefigured the sacrifice of mother and son for mankind, and denoted the Virgin's purity and humility. In accordance with Mosaic Law, mothers were to present their child in the Temple after a forty-day period of cleansing following its birth. An offering of a lamb and a turtledove was required to purify the mother, who had been rendered unclean through process of conception and childbirth. Because Christ had been conceived without sin, Mary was technically exempt from obeying this law, but submitted to it anyway. In Christological terms, while the Visitation represented the first recognition of Christ, the Purification signified the first introduction of the Messiah into the house of God and the initiation of the purification of mankind, brought about by both Christ and the Virgin.[174]

A number of examples of such coordinated decorative programmes have already been noted, marking microcosms of Marian devotion. The reader will recall a similar arrangement at the Frari, where Titian's high altarpiece formed the apex of a triangle of Marian altar decoration.[175] The monumental framing of Titian's painting in the apse, with its ref-

erences to the classical triumphal arch, emphasised the grandeur and drama of Mary's victory over death. The reasons for her exemption were communicated through the decoration of the altars in the nave, referencing the related mysteries of the Purification and Immaculate Conception. A spectator progressing down the nave would have passed these altars, before moving beneath the sculptural crucified Christ atop the choir screen, and onward toward the high altar. The message of the potential of salvation through the sacrifice of Christ, the intercession of the Virgin and participation in the sacrament at the altar was communicated through the interrelationship between these spaces and their decoration, as were the devotional affinities of the friars. Humfrey has recognized the "considerable theological expertise" evident in the coordination of this programme, and a similar erudition was clearly at work in the Crociferi chancel.

In selecting Tintoretto, the Crociferi recruited an artist adept at developing new iconographies, at exploring the boundaries of tradition to discover new ways of engaging the viewer, sometimes through the use of unexpected motifs. He drew his inspiration from both visual sources and popular devotional literature, which also aimed to elicit empathy and encouraged a visualisation of being present at the actual event. Highly descriptive medieval texts such as the Meditations on the Life of Christ and Jacopo da Voragine's The Golden Legend provided a wealth of motifs for artists, particularly for events such as the Assumption of the Virgin that were not described in the Bible.[176] The Crociferi undoubtedly guided Tintoretto in his development of the imagery in the *Assumption*; they would have been familiar with an abundance of texts, and as the primary audience, would have wished for an altarpiece rich in meaningful references. Scholars have noted that both the Crociferi *Assumption*, and the Bamberg version contain quite unique, perhaps even slightly questionable iconographical elements.[177] Considering Weddigen's compelling argument that the Bamberg Assumption was in fact a rejected first version of the Crociferi altarpiece, we must entertain the possibility that unconventional imagery in both paintings might have had as much to do with the patron as the artist.

Much about the Crociferi altarpiece conforms to what anyone mid-century would have expected of a painting depicting the Assumption. Humfrey has traced the development of the depiction of the Assumption in the Veneto, noting the gradual movement away from motionless, iconic arrangements toward more theatrical narrative scenes occurring against a recognizably earthly backdrop.[178] Any work to follow Titian's treatment of the subject at the Frari could hardly have escaped referencing this seminal work (fig. 54). There are indeed echoes of its influence in the Crociferi picture: the variety of apostles arranged at the base of the composition, their gestures directing

attention to the robust, dynamic Virgin, enveloped in the ineffable light. The notion of light beyond comprehension was central to Cinquecento rhetoric on the Assumption, as the orations composed by the Venetian poet and historian, Sorano, to be read on the feast of the Assumption in 1499 at the Crociferi church demonstrate. That year it was to be recited by one of Sorano's students at the monastery, the future doge Lorenzo Priuli. It read:

> "After her death, was this not something divine, even, indeed more than divine? At the very moment when the most glorious soul of the Virgin was most gloriously raised to the heavens, a radiance gathered in the sky, so bright that nobody's eyes could endure it. On the third day, then the body was taken up into heaven in the company of all the Angels, amid the joy of all the Saints, the applause (so to say) of all the stars, and into the presence of the Son himself. What is your faith, my noble Christians? The earth shook with joy; the very waters were stirred to merriment, the air grew clearer, the sky seemed a fairer sight. The whole firmament of heaven shone brighter than before".[179]

What is less conventional about the Crociferi *Assumption* is in the details; namely the delicate floral still life, the meticulously rendered liturgical objects in the foreground, and above all the crown of stars about the head of the Virgin. These motifs serve to accentuate certain aspects of the message of the Assumption, but also point to a subtext that is now difficult to fully interpret due to the loss of the original context.

54. Titian, *Assumption of the Virgin* (*Assunta*), 1516-1518, Basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice (see also page 359)

Tintoretto's *Assunta*: Unconventional Iconographies?

We know that Tintoretto made use of *The Golden Legend* as a source for his *Miracle of the Slave*, and it must certainly have informed the iconography for his depictions of the Assumption. Weddigen has argued for another source from popular literature of the time for the Crociferi and Bamberg altarpieces: Pietro Aretino's *Vita di Maria Vergine*, published in 1539.[180] Although history has remembered Aretino for his piercing tongue, letters, dialogues, satire and even pornographic works, he published a series of religious texts in the 1530's and early 1540's that were received with immediate enthusiasm.[181] The author claimed that the dynamic preaching of *Spirituali* preacher Bernardino Ochino, in 1534 had resulted in "la conversione Aretina", moving him to compose vivid accounts of religious drama.[182] The extent to which art and literature interacted in this period remains the subject of debate.[183] I will not argue that Tintoretto was engaging in some kind of *paragone* with

Aretino's description of the Assumption, however the influence of certain elements of the text should be considered for several reasons.

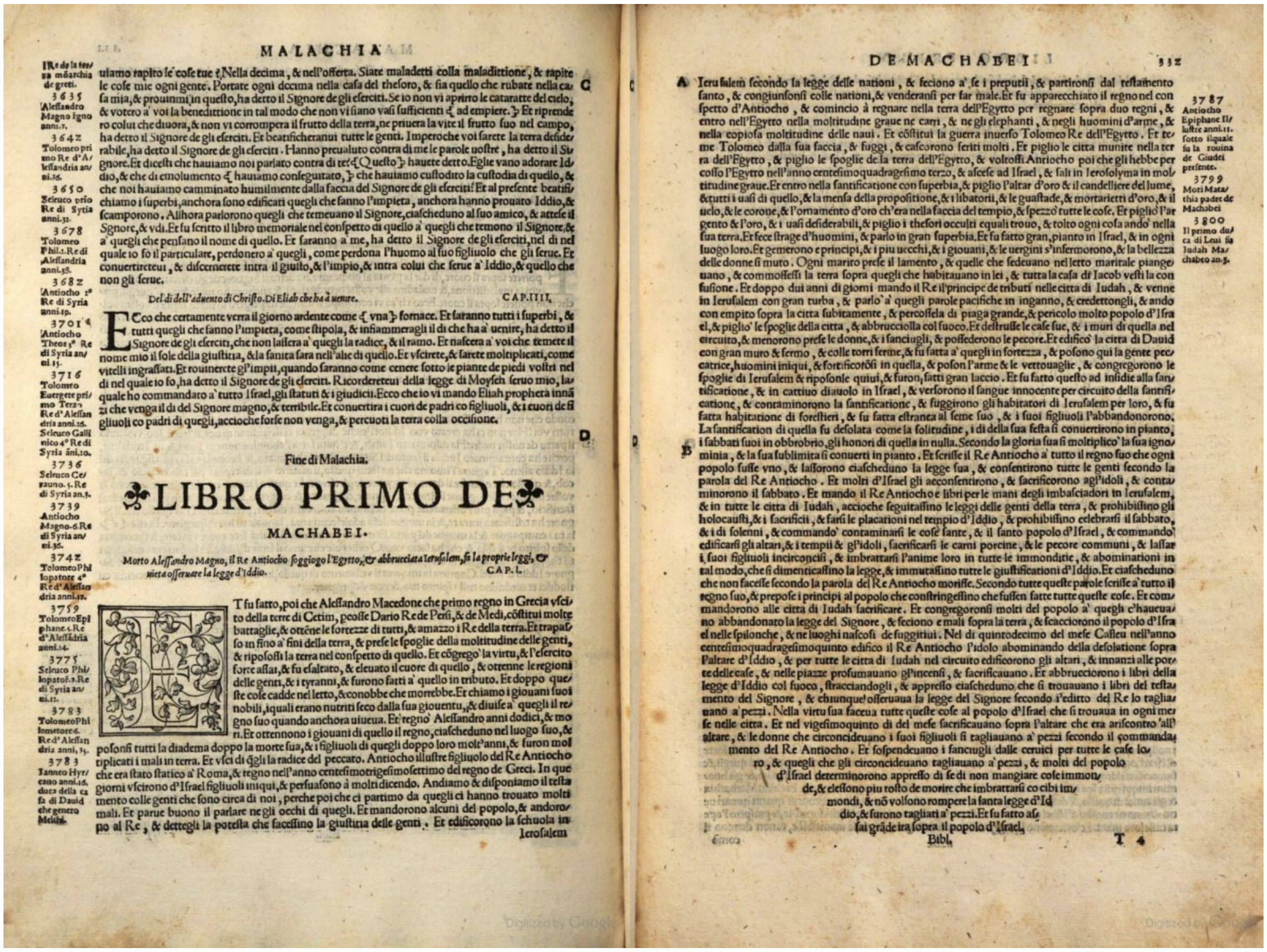
Artists and writers did share descriptive goals, and for Tintoretto, always striving to innovate, the pictorial quality of Aretino's writings would have naturally tempted translation in a visual form. The reciprocal influence of Aretino's work and that of his friend Titian has been the subject of several studies.[184] It is not impossible that Tintoretto knew Aretino's sacred texts; Tintoretto produced two paintings for the ceiling of Aretino's palazzo (1541), and a portrait of the writer in the 1540's, establishing a relationship between them. The printer Francesco Marcolini provides a link; he considered Tintoretto like a son and he published Aretino's religious works.[185] The Crociferi had connections of their own to Aretino, through a number of their patrons/protectors who had been responsible for attracting Aretino to Venice (Zen and Da Lezze). Aretino's published correspondence includes a letter and a number of references to the Master General of the Order Pietro Trevisan (1530).[186] Crociferi interest in the *volgare* literature has already been noted; a number of the Crociferi were even involved in the production and publishing of their own sacred poetry and psalms. The Crociferi could not have been unaware of Aretino's works, thus any resonance of his text in Tintoretto's imagery might be just as easily attributed to their influence.

Aretino's description of the Assumption has much in common with the tone of Sorano's oration, emphasising the turbulent nature of the event, and the inexplicable light; as Aretino writes, "non so che luminoso".[187] Aretino's departures from tradition, as in Tintoretto's paintings, are in the details, and therein lay the controversy. Tintoretto may have been too eager in his inventiveness, pushing the boundaries of decorum with a first version of the Crociferi altarpiece.[188] To the dimensional similarities of the Bamberg and Crociferi paintings (figs. 36, 47), we can add several compositional and iconographical parallels. Both include the diagonally placed sarcophagus, floral still life and an open book, all motifs unique to these two pictures amongst the five versions of the subject Tintoretto completed in his lifetime (figs. 42, 55).[189] The palettes are similar, he recycles the figure of John the Evangelist (placed on the far left in both pictures), and the apostle gesturing in open-armed abandon at the back row of the group. The Bamberg painting, however, contains some critical differences: the position of the Virgin, the unusually large female angels that assist her ascent, the presence of all twelve apostles and the figure of Christ, hands marked by the stigmata, de-

55. (above) *First Book of Maccabees* from *The Bible*, trans. by Santi Marmochino (Venice: Giunti, 1538), p. 331*v*

(left) Jacopo Tintoretto, Bamberg *Assumption* (detail, see fig. 47)

(right) Jacopo Tintoretto, Crociferi *Assumption* (detail, see fig. 36)



Re de la terza mõarchia de greci.
3635 Alessandro Magno regno anni. 7.
3642 Tolomeo primo Re d'Alessandria anni. 36.
3650 Seleuco primo Re di Syria anni. 31.
3678 Tolomeo Phil. 2. Re di Alessandria anni. 38.
3682 Antiocho 1° Re di Syria anni. 19.
3701 Antiocho Theos 3° Re di Syria anni. 15.
3716 Tolomeo Euergete primo Terzo Re d'Alessandria anni. 26.
Seleuco Gallinico 4° Re di Syria ãni. 20.
3736 Seleuco Ceranno. 5. Re di Syria an. 3.
3739 Antiocho Magno. 6. Re di Syria anni. 36.
3742 Tolomeo Philopatore 4° Re d'Alessandria anni. 17.
3759 Tolomeo Epiphane. 5. Re d'Alessãdria anni. 24.
3775 Seleuco Philopator. 7. Re di Syria anni. 12.
3783 Tolomeo Philometore 6. Re d'Alessandria anni, 35.
3783 Ianneo Hyrcano anni. 16. duca della casa di Dauid che genero Melchi.

uiamo rapito le cose tue? Nella decima, & nell'offerta. Siate maladetti colla maladittione, & rapite le cose mie ogni gente. Portate ogni decima nella casa del thesoro, & sia quello che rubate nella casa mia, & prouinmi in questo, ha detto il Signore de gli eserciti. Se io non vi aprirro le cataratte del cielo, & votero a' voi la benedittione in tal modo che non vi siano vasi sufficienti { ad empiere. } Et riprendero colui che diuora, & non vi corrompera il frutto della terra, ne priuera la vite il frutto suo nel campo, ha detto il Signore de gli eserciti. Et beatificheranui tutte le genti. Imperoche voi sarete la terra desiderabile, ha detto il Signore de gli eserciti. Hanno preualuto contra di me le parole uostre, ha detto il Signore. Et dicesti che hauiamo noi parlato contra di te? { Questo } hauete detto. Egli e vano adorare Iddio, & che di emolumento { hauiamo conseguitato, } che hauiamo custodito la custodia di quello, & che noi hauiamo camminato humilmente dalla faccia del Signore de gli eserciti! Et al presente beatifichiamo i superbi, anchora sono edificati quegli che fanno l'impieta, anchora hanno prouato Iddio, & scamporono. Allhora parlorono quegli che temeuano il Signore, ciascheduno al suo amico, & attese il Signore, & udi. Et fu scritto il libro memoriale nel conspetto di quello a' quegli che temono il Signore, & a' quegli che pensano il nome di quello. Et saranno a' me, ha detto il Signore de gli eserciti, nel di nel quale io fo il particulare, perdonero a' quegli, come perdona l'huomo al suo figliuolo che gli serue. Et conuertireteui, & discernerete intra il giusto, & l'impio, & intra colui che serue a' Iddio, & quello che non gli serue.

Del di dell'aduento di Christo. Di Eliah che ha a uenire. CAP. IIII.

ECco che certamente verra il giorno ardente come { vna } fornace. Et saranno tutti i superbi, & tutti quegli che fanno l'impieta, come stipola, & infiammeragli il di che ha a' uenire, ha detto il Signore de gli eserciti, che non lascera a' quegli la radice, & il ramo. Et nascera a' voi che temete il nome mio il sole della giustitia, & la sanita sara nell'alie di quello. Et vscirete, & sarete moltiplicati, come vitelli ingrassati. Et rouinerete gl'impii, quando saranno come cenere sotto le piante de piedi vostri nel di nel quale io fo, ha detto il Signore de gli eserciti. Ricordereteui della legge di Moyseh seruo mio, laquale ho commandato a' tutto Israel, gli statuti & i giudicii. Ecco che io vi mando Eliah propheta innãzi che venga il di del Signore magno, & terribile. Et conuertira i cuori de padri co figliuoli, & i cuori de figliuoli co padri di quegli, accioche forse non venga, & percuoti la terra colla occisione.

Fine di Malachia.

LIBRO PRIMO DE MACHABEI.

Morto Alessandro Magno, il Re Antiocho soggiogo l'Egytto, & abbrucciata Ierusalem, fa la proprie leggi, & uieta osseruare la legge d'Iddio. CAP. I.

ET fu fatto, poi che Alessandro Macedone che primo regno in Grecia vscito della terre di Cetim, peosse Dario Re de Persi, & de Medi, cõstitui molte battaglie, & ottẽne le fortezze di tutti, & amazzo i Re della terra. Et trapasso in fino a' fini della terra, & prese le spoglie della moltitudine delle genti, & riposossi la terra nel conspetto di quello. Et cõgrego la virtu, & l'esercito forte assai, & fu esaltato, & eleuato il cuore di quello, & ottenne le regioni delle genti, & i tyranni, & furono fatti a' quello in tributo. Et doppo queste cose cadde nel letto, & conobbe che morrebbe. Et chiamo i giouani suoi nobili, iquali erano nutriti seco dalla sua giouentu, & diuise a' quegli il regno suo quando anchora uiueua. Et regno Alessandro anni dodici, & mori. Et ottennono i giouani di quello il regno, ciascheduno nel luogo suo, & posonsi tutti la diadema doppo la morte sua, & i figliuoli di quegli doppo loro molt'anni, & furon moltiplicati i mali in terra. Et vsci di qgli la radice del peccato. Antiocho illustre figliuolo del Re Antiocho che era stato statico a' Roma, & regno nell'anno centesimotrigesimosettimo del regno de Greci. In que giorni vscirono d'Israel figliuoli iniqui, & persuasono a molti dicendo. Andiamo & disponiamo il testamento colle genti che sono circa di noi, perche poi che ci partimo da quegli ci hanno trouato molti mali. Et parue buono il parlare ne gli occhi di quegli. Et mandorono alcuni del popolo, & andorono al Re, & dettegli la potesta che facessino la giustitia delle genti. Et edificorono la schuola in Ierosalem

3787 Antiocho Epiphane Illustre anni. 11. sotto ilquale fu la rouina de Giudei presente.
3799 Mori Matathia padre de Machabei.
3800 Il primo duca di Leui fu Judah Machabeo an. 5.

Ierusalem secondo la legge delle nationi, & feciono a' se i preputii, & partironsi dal testamento santo, & congiunsonsi colle nationi, & venderansi per far male. Et fu apparecchiato il regno nel conspetto d'Antiocho, & comincio à regnare nella terra dell'Egytto per regnare sopra duo regni, & entro nell'Egytto nella moltitudine graue ne carri, & ne gli elephanti, & negli huomini d'arme, & nella copiosa moltitudine delle naui. Et cõstitui la guerra inuerso Tolomeo Re dell'Egytto. Et teme Tolomeo dalla sua faccia, & fuggi, & cascorono feriti molti. Et piglio le citta munite nella terra dell'Egytto, & piglio le spoglie de la terra dell'Egytto, & voltossi Antiocho poi che gli hebbe percosso l'Egytto nell'anno centesimoquadragesimo terzo, & ascese ad Israel, & sali in Ierosolyma in moltitudine graue. Et entro nella santificatione con superbia, & piglio l'altar d'oro & il candelliere del lume, & tutti i uasi di quello, & la mensa della propositione, & i libatorii, & le guastade, & mortarietti d'oro, & il uelo, & le corone, & l'ornamento d'oro ch'era nella faccia del tempio, & spezzo tutte le cose. Et piglio l'argento & l'oro, & i uasi desiderabili, & piglio i thesori occulti equali trouo, & tolto ogni cosa ando nella sua terra. Et fece strage d'huomini, & parlo in gran superbia. Et fu fatto gran pianto in Israel, & in ogni luogo loro. Et gemerono e principi, & i piu uecchi, & i giouani, & le uergini s'infermorono, & la bellezza delle donne si muto. Ogni marito prese il lamento, & quelle che sedeuano nel letto maritale piangeuano, & commossessi la terra sopra quegli che habitauano in lei, & tutta la casa di Iacob vesti la confusione. Et doppo dui anni di giorni mando il Re il principe de tributi nelle citta di Iudah, & venne in Ierusalem con gran turba, & parlo a' quegli parole pacifiche in inganno, & credettongli, & ando con empito sopra la citta subitamente, & percossela di piaga grande, & pericolo molto popolo d'Israel, & piglio le spoglie della citta, & abbrucciolla col fuoco. Et destrusse le case sue, & i muri di quella nel circuito, & menorono prese le donne, & i fanciugli, & possederono le pecore. Et edifico la citta di Dauid con gran muro & fermo, & colle torri ferme, & fu fatta a' quegli in fortezza, & posono qui la gente peccatrice, huomini iniqui, & fortificorõsi in quella, & poson l'arme & le vettouaglie, & congregorono le spoglie di Ierusalem & riposonle quiui, & furon fatti gran laccio. Et fu fatto questo ad insidie alla santificatione, & in cattiuo diauolo in Israel, & versorono il sangue innocente per circuito della santificatione, & contaminorono la santificatione, & fuggirono gli habitatori di Ierusalem per loro, & fu fatta habitatione di forestieri, & fu fatta estranea al seme suo, & i suoi figliuoli l'abbandonorono. La santification di quella fu desolata come la solitudine, i di della sua festa si conuertirono in pianto, i sabbati suoi in obbrobrio, gli honori di quella in nulla. Secondo la gloria sua si moltiplico la sua ignominia, & la sua sublimita si conuerti in pianto. Et scrisse il Re Antiocho a' tutto il regno suo che ogni popolo fusse vno, & lassorono ciascheduno la legge sua, & consentirono tutte le genti secondo la parola del Re Antiocho. Et molti d'Israel gli acconsentirono, & sacrificorono agl'idoli, & contaminorono il sabbato. Et mando il Re Antiocho e libri per le mani degli imbasciadori in Ierusalem, & in tutte le citta di Iudah, accioche seguitassino le leggi delle genti della terra, & prohibissino gli holocausti, & i sacrificii, & farsi le placationi nel tempio d'Iddio, & prohibissino celebrarsi il sabbato, & i di solenni, & commando contaminarsi le cose sante, & il santo popolo d'Israel, & commando edificarsi gli altari, & i tempii & gl'idoli, sacrificarsi le carni porcine, & le pecore communi, & lassar i suoi figliuoli incirconcisi, & imbrattarsi l'anime loro in tutte le immonditie, & abominationi in tal modo, che si dimenticassino la legge, & immutassino tutte le giustificationi d'Iddio. Et ciascheduno che non facesse secondo la parola del Re Antiocho morisse. Secondo tutte queste parole scrisse a' tutto il regno suo, & prepose i principi al popolo che constringessino che fussen fatte tutte queste cose. Et commandorono alle citta di Iudah sacrificare. Et congregoronsi molti del popolo a' quegli c'haueuano abbandonato la legge del Signore, & feciono e mali sopra la terra, & scacciorono il popolo d'Israel nelle spilonche, & ne luoghi nascosi de fuggitiui. Nel di quintodecimo del mese Casleu nell'anno centesimoquadragesimoquinto edifico il Re Antiocho l'idolo abominando della desolatione sopra l'altare d'Iddio, & per tutte le citta di Iudah nel circuito edificorono gli altari, & innanzi alle porte delle case, & nelle piazze profumauano gl'incensi, & sacrificauano. Et abbrucciorono i libri della legge d'Iddio col fuoco, stracciandogli, & appresso ciascheduno che si trouauano i libri del testamento del Signore, & chiunque osseruaua la legge del Signore secondo l'editto del Re lo tagliauano a' pezzi. Nella virtu sua faceua tutte queste cose al popolo d'Israel che si trouaua in ogni mese nelle citta. Et nel vigesimoquinto di del mese sacrificauano sopra l'altare che era ariscontro all'altare, & le donne che circoncideuano i suoi figliuoli si tagliauano a' pezzi secondo il commandamento del Re Antiocho. Et sospendeuano i fanciugli dalle ceruici per tutte le case loro, & quegli che gli circoncideuano tagliauano a' pezzi, & molti del popolo d'Israel determinorono appresso di se di non mangiare cose immonde, & elessono piu tosto de morire che imbrattarsi co cibi immondi, & nõ volsono rompere la santa legge d'Iddio, & furono tagliati a' pezzi. Et fu fatto assai grãde ira sopra il popolo d'Israel.

Bibl. T 4

scending dramatically from the left.

Some elements can be attributed to some of the more traditional texts already discussed. The floral still life refers to the legend of the miraculous blooms that appeared in the tomb after the Virgin's bodily ascent, as well as the common iconography of the enclosed garden as a symbol of her purity. Both the *Golden Legend* and Aretino's account include this miracle, the former identifying roses and lilies, the latter describing a veritable bounty of symbolic flora.[190] Tintoretto's sensitive treatment of the floral passage is so specific that it is possible to identify the actual plants he has selected to depict in both paintings (fig. 42). Some refer to the Virgin's purity, while others seem to be herbs typically used as medicine at the time, perhaps in reference to the vocation of the Crociferi.[191] The prominence of John in both paintings is also reflected in these texts. Both Voragine and Aretino stress John's special role; charged by Christ to care for his mother, the youngest evangelist is first to receive word of the Virgin's impending death and plays a central role at her funeral.[192]

Although Titian had included God the Father in his depiction of the *Assumption*, the presence of Christ in Tintoretto's Bamberg version is without precedent.[193] Aretino may be the source for this unusual imagery, which seems to refer to a reunion of Christ and the Virgin in terms of their mystical marriage. The notion of the Virgin as the bride of Christ has its origins in the Old Testament *Song of Songs*.[194] At the moment of the Incarnation at the Annunciation, when the Word became flesh, a union that was both physical and spiritual occurred between the Virgin and Christ. As the redemptive equivalent to Eve, the Virgin was the bride of the second Adam, remaining faithful, even throughout the suffering of His Passion. Her reward is the reunion with Christ and her coronation as Queen of Heaven and Co-Redemptrix. Tintoretto may be evoking this idea through the winged female figures hoisting the Virgin toward a dramatically foreshortened Christ. Since angels were thought to be androgynous, Weddigen notes they might actually be bridesmaids to the Virgin, or, as in Aretino's text, personifications of the senses or Virtues accompanying her funeral bier.[195] In Aretino's text, Christ does not descend toward the Virgin, but he is present—revealed on a throne as the gates of heaven open to accept her with radiant light—in a moment that forms the apex of Aretino's narrative.[196] Tintoretto has taken this concept a step further, with Christ (in the guise of the Redeemer) plunging downward on a collision course with the Virgin, a trajectory that implies the imminent, electric moment of reunion.[197]

Although the open book is less clear in the Crociferi painting, the one in the Bamberg version is so precisely rendered that the exact Bible (a *volgare* translation published by the Giunti in 1538) and passage on which it was modelled has been identified, the first page of the *Book of the Maccabees* (from the *Apocrypha*). It is hard to

imagine that Tintoretto would have gone to such pains to depict the pages in detail if the motif did not carry some sort of message. The choice of the Macabees forms a fitting parallel to the themes at work in the painted narrative: evidence for hope of resurrection, for the justification of sacrifice, and proof of intercession at the end of days.[198] This unusual iconography and unconventional composition may have offended the Crociferi, leading them to reject the Bamberg painting. Such a scandal would not have been without precedent; even Titian's *Assumption* was initially met with reluctance. It was, after all, precisely at this moment that the campaign to eradicate heresy descended on Venice. The brothers would have been justified in their concern about arousing unwanted attention by displaying images of a questionable nature over their high altar, particularly in light of their efforts to rehabilitate their reputation. Reformers praised Aretino's religious writings as adherent to orthodoxy, but there were also aspects of the works that were called into question, and ultimately a petition for the ban of Aretino's religious texts was advanced in 1557.[199] It was precisely the physicality and inventiveness of Aretino's interpretations of sacred subjects that came under fire. In privileging grandeur and drama, he was perceived to have neglected theological precision, a criticism that could easily have been levelled against Tintoretto's Bamberg *Assumption*. It is perhaps no coincidence that a rejection of this first version may well have occurred during the period in which the former Inquisitor, Giovanni della Casa, had returned to Venice. Although the author of obscene poetry in his early years, in his capacity as nuncio he ordered book burnings and formulated the first Venetian list of prohibited texts. One of his chief duties had been to oversee the behaviour of clergymen, something that would undoubtedly have taken him to the beleaguered Crociferi monastery.[200] As previously noted, Della Casa had connections to the Crociferi through their supporters, Stefano Tiepolo and Elisabetta Massolo, and we have documentary evidence of his intervention on behalf of the Venetian-dependent monastery of San Martino di Conegliano in 1545, and of the Venetian house in 1547 and 1555, precisely when this project was underway.[201] As a patron of art himself, he would no doubt have been interested in how the Crociferi had decorated their altar. As an author with broad literary interests[202], who had been charged with eradicating heresy, Della Casa was ideally placed to advise the *frati* on anything that might have been interpreted as unorthodox.[203]

Although we have no record of how the Bamberg *Assumption* made its way to Germany, it is interesting that it was sent north, perhaps because it had already been deemed inappropriate for display in the south. This is not to say that Tintoretto or the Crociferi harboured heretical sympathies; we must recall that it was Tintoretto who corrected the questionable iconography of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in his own version for the Madonna dell'Or-

to.[204] The contents of the Crociferi library show that they did possess evangelical texts that were, or would come to be prohibited, however they owned just as many which were anti-Lutheran and promoted orthodoxy.[205] They were obviously engaged in the latest doctrinal debates, and as a result may have had more progressive ideas that did not translate as clearly in a pictorial form. It is more appropriate to view the Bamberg version as a less successful attempt at pushing the boundaries of iconographic invention, probably under the theological guidance of the Crociferi. Whether or not Aretino was the source for some of this imagery, there is no doubt that there were elements of the work that could not be considered mainstream. There was simply no room for subtlety during this period, and the result may just have been too daring for comfort. Judging from the alterations made between the two versions, it appears that in addition to a few of the iconographic abnormalities, it was primarily the compositional arrangement that was at issue. The Virgin is not necessarily the main focus of the Bamberg picture, Christ's presence would have further complicated the identification of the subject, and the apostles, while appropriately dynamic, seem crammed together and are not always successfully realized. While it was critical for images to challenge the viewer, clarity was critical to facilitating interpretation; if a painting was formally complicated or difficult to read, it was not able to instruct. Although forceful, Tintoretto's Bamberg painting lacked the "humanity and nobility" that Gould felt made Titian's effort so worthy of imitation.[206] Tintoretto's second attempt seems to have benefited from the failures of the first. He preserves some of the motifs from his first version, however he arrives at something more legible by omitting Christ, the female angels, and Thomas (who actually missed the Assumption). He returns to a more traditional formula with the Virgin placed on the central axis at the pinnacle of the altarpiece, her arms outstretched in a gesture of blessing (rather than the traditional upturned *orans* pose), implying her continued role as intercessor. His engagement with the challenge of painting the immaterial light of heaven and supernatural chaos is more successfully realized in the Crociferi version, and would have facilitated the sort of ecstatic visionary experience encouraged by Catholic reform.

One new detail added to the Crociferi clarifies some of the associations that Tintoretto was less successful in conveying in the Bamberg variant. Above the Virgin's head is a crown of twelve stars. This particular motif, rarely employed in Venice until after 1600, identified the Virgin with the Woman of the Apocalypse (fig. 56).[207] The imagery derives from Revelations as one of signs of the End of Days: "And a great sign appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun and the moon was under her feet and upon her head a crown of twelve stars". The motif eventually became one of the most common symbols of the Immaculate Conception, a doctrine still widely debated in the Cinquecento

that contends Mary was free from Original Sin, even before conception.[208] A distinction has to be made from the outset that while the purity of the Virgin and the miraculous nature of her own conception to barren parents was never in question, the chronology of the moment at which she was sanctified as free of sin was less clear.[209] At issue was whether she was exempt from sin only after the announcement of the birth of Christ, whether she was sanctified in the womb, or whether she was conceived free from sin. In defence of the doctrine, other Marian mysteries were invoked as central proof of the Virgin's immaculacy, such as the Meeting of Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate, the Purification, Visitation, and most popularly, the Assumption.[210] Because it was a concept rather than a narrative, these other subjects were often used in visual art to reference the doctrine. Sixtus IV approved the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1475, but it was not accepted as an official doctrine until 1854. It was adopted by many mendicant orders and celebrated at a local level from as early as the fourteenth century. The devotion of Venetian Franciscans to the doctrine helped to increase its profile in the city, and by 1489 there were churches and *scuole* dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, including the one occupying an altar at the Crociferi church in 1519.[211] While the arrangement of subjects in the chancel of the Crociferi church, and the high altarpiece itself, could be construed as making reference to this doctrine, I would not assert that scheme was designed to defend or affirm Immaculatist sympathies on the part of the Crociferi. Such arguments made for other paintings of this period are rarely convincing[212], because the iconography was not yet codified, and because the suggestion that a controversial doctrine would have been overtly celebrated on a high altar at the peak of the enforcement of orthodoxy must be viewed with scepticism.[213] I would venture that the immaculacy of the Virgin was one of several interrelated themes at work in a decorative cycle that was ultimately meant to celebrate the singularity of the Virgin. Beyond the presence of an altar at the Crociferi church dedicated to the Conception, there are several other reasons to consider this possibility.[214] The Crociferi were evidently supporters of the doctrine, as their church in Rome was one of the earliest churches in the city devoted to the Immacolata. Bruzio recorded that the high altar was decorated with a painting representing the Virgin crowned by angels, with the moon beneath her feet, a crown of twelve stars, with Crociferi insignia in the margins.[215] This decoration, which must have dated to the late sixteenth or possibly early seventeenth century, also employed the iconography of the Woman of the Apocalypse, which by that time was the most popular prefiguration of the Virgin's role in the defeat of sin.[216]

The crown of stars in Tintoretto's altarpiece anticipates this by a good number of decades, and it functions in the context of the larger decorative scheme to remind the spectator of two themes. The first, the

Virgin's purity and humility, was the means by which she was qualified to serve as the vessel of Christ, to be bodily assumed, and to reign as Queen of Heaven and intercessor. The second theme was salvation through sacrifice, in which the Virgin was implicit. This reminder of the End of Days was one of a number of novel visual clues selected by the artist in an effort to connect several quite complex theological ideals that were aimed at asserting the centrality of participation in the Eucharist and intercession in salvation. The meticulously rendered instruments of the mass on the sarcophagus, link the meaning of the narrative to the liturgical function of the altar below.[217] Weddigen suggests that the theme of sacrifice is also referenced in the relief on the sarcophagus faintly present in the Bamberg version, and completely legible in the Crociferi painting (fig. 56). It depicts Noah making an offering in front of the ark after the flood, perhaps a visual expression of the parallel made in *The Golden Legend* between the ark and the Virgin, both instruments of salvation and vessels of the Lord.[218] These associations would have enhanced the message of the Assumption, and connected the narrative to the ritual taking place below, an enactment of the sacrifice through the consecration of the Host. The Crociferi emblem on the relief of the vessel into which Noah deposits his sacrifice signifies their role in this process. Although the references are more traditional in the Crociferi Assumption, both versions employed complex iconography in an effort to depict the Virgin as virtuous, pure, glorious, privileged, triumphant: a personification of the Church at the moment of its greatest challenge.

Tintoretto's spectator is not just a passive recipient of symbolic narrative, but is implicated in the event as the creator of meaning through viewing, drawn into the narrative to meditate on a variety of subtexts within the images. The viewer is then encouraged by formal and iconographical cues to relate them to the *laterali*. Tintoretto possessed a unique ability to engage complex participation, inspiring internalization of emotion, persuading the viewer of the reality of the event, particularly through manipulation of space.

In *Only Connect*, Shearman explored the notion of the "engaged spectator"; the viewer who is "critically sophisticated and accustomed to communicating through media of art". This spectator not only "completes, as object, the subject matter of the transitive or affective work of art, but also becomes an accomplice in its aesthetic functioning. He brings to it experiences, attitudes, a knowledge of the critical and poetic frames of reference that have been calculated in the artist's assumptions".[219] The coordinated decorative program, with its complex multiple meanings, was designed for such an engaged spectator. Tintoretto's religious works in particular were highly sought after; his success in this regard was surely due to the

56. Jacopo Tintoretto, Crociferi *Assumption* (details, see fig. 36)

57. Giovanni Bellini, *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, c. 1474, Museo Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Venice (see note 222)

fact that he was himself an engaged spectator; deeply pious, but also a native Venetian, rooted in the city's religious and civic traditions and visual precedents. Boschini was the first to fully appreciate Tintoretto's sensitivity to space, relating that Tintoretto would create small models of the spaces for which his works were destined, so as to gauge effects of lighting, figure placement and perspective.[220] It is precisely Tintoretto's unique approach to perspective and compositional arrangement that sets the emotional tone in his works, in contrast to the emotive success of Titian's figures.[221] If we visualize the *Assumption* and *Presentation* in their original formation, we can appreciate the ways in which the master scenographer was clearly at work **(fig. 41)**. Tintoretto oriented the figures and shifted the perspective in the *Presentation* to account for the approach of the viewer, much as Titian did in his *Pesaro Madonna* at the Frari.[222] As in the actual church, the priest is positioned at the summit of a set of stairs at the extreme left of the image. Another mother begins to climb the flight to present her child, providing the viewer with an interlocutor figure. The eye is

invited into the picture by the procession within the image toward the figurative altar, echoed by the viewer's physical procession towards the actual altar. It should be recalled that the patrons approached this space in solemn procession by candlelight down the nave each year on their feast day, no doubt the impetus for volunteering the decoration. This fact cannot have been lost on the artist, who would have been aware of the centrality of such ritual to civic and religious life within the city, as well as the established tradition of depicting processions in Venetian art.[223] Tintoretto's unusually detailed effort at grand classical architecture in the Presentation functions to effectively extend the curve of the apse within the image.[224] The mirroring of the *stucchi* from the actual decoration of the chancel would have created a sense that this biblical event was happening within the space of the church, an impression further enhanced by the faces staring out from the other side of the steps. Ridolfi, who saw these works *in situ*, commented on the success of these devices.[225] Since the picture was hung at or above eye level, the viewer in front of this work in its original context would have completed this figurative circle of spectators, becoming participants in Christ's Presentation.[226] The figure mounting the stairs holding a candle provides a further point of contact between the painted narrative and the devotional activities of the *scuola*, and the motif is carried over into the high altarpiece, where a lit candle rests on the edge of the sarcophagus.[227]

58. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, c. 1540-1545, Church of Santa Maria del Carmine, Venice (see note 227)

The viewer is encouraged to meditate on what this scene ultimately prefigures: the sacrifice Mary and Christ are already destined to make on behalf of mankind. The *Gospel of Luke* relates that Mary received the second prophecy of the Passion at the Presentation: "Behold, this child is destined for the fall and for the rise of many in Israel, and for a sign that shall be contradicted and thy own soul a sword shall

59. Odoardo Fialetti (after Jacopo Tintoretto), *Wedding at Cana*, c. 1610, The National Gallery of Art, Washington DC

pierce–that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed".[228] The "engaged spectator" would have understood these references, and the requisite doves and lamb are further cues to the sacrificial nature of the image. They would also have understood this subject, and the pendant Visitation as corollary to the altarpiece. These events adorned the Virgin with virtues that make her worthy of bodily assumption, just as the ritual in which the spectator was participating—the procession to the mass—was their own means to salvation.

What the Crociferi succeeded in creating in their chancel was a sophisticated expression of their own devotional interests, clearly informed by the spirit of reform and the needs of the communities the space serviced.

Tintoretto's *Wedding at Cana*

Tintoretto's painting for the Crociferi refectory is among the very few works the artist signed, and one of only five that he dated in the 1560's (fig. 43).[229] Perhaps more than almost any other work, it can be considered the hallmark of Tintoretto's interest in the manipulation of space

60. Giovanni Volpato (after Jacopo Tintoretto), *Wedding at Cana*, 1722, Wellcome Trust, London

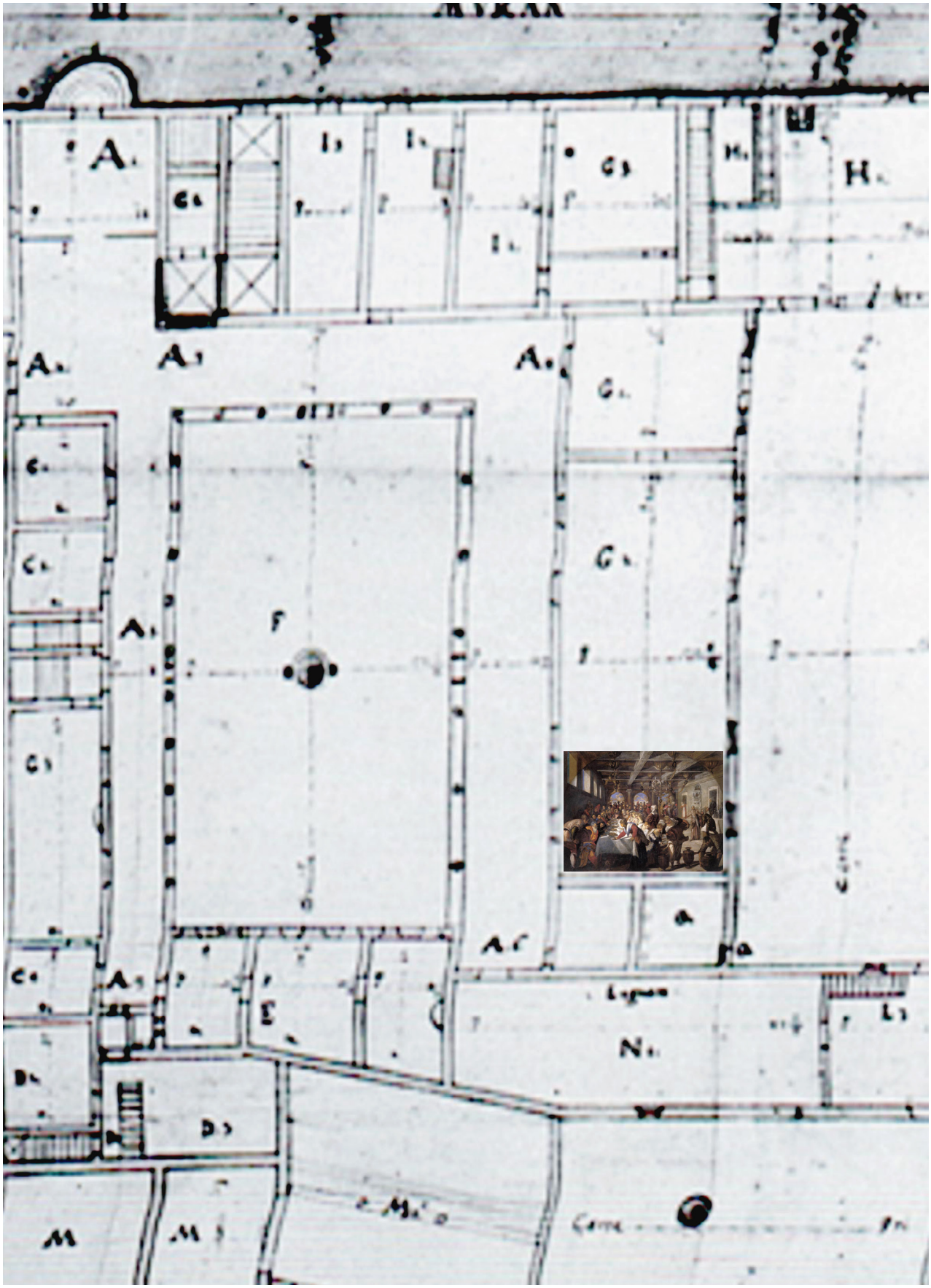
to the particularities of context. It was praised by Ridolfi, Boschini and Zanetti as among the artist's finest works[230], was engraved twice and copied at least six times (figs. 59-61).[231] It was the only painting amongst the many of substantial value possessed by the Crociferi that was retained by the state when the order was suppressed in 1656. At that time it narrowly escaped surreptitious sale and export to the Florentine collection of Leopoldo de' Medici, when the painters' guild and Senate made an impassioned plea to preserve it for the "public good".[232] It joined other displaced treasures by Titian and others in the sacristy of the newly erected basilica of Santa Maria della Salute. There it captured the attention of some of the most discerning eyes of the Romantic era, including Sir Joshua Reynolds, who owned a copy, and wrote an eloquent description of the original in his diary.[233] John Ruskin and Henry James admired it for its invention, the qualities of light and shade, and the variety of figures.[234] It so impressed Ruskin that he devoted much

61. Greco-Veneto painter (after Jacopo Tintoretto), *Wedding at Cana*, Museo Correr, Venice, c.1650

effort to an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to acquire it for the National Gallery in 1852.[235] What captivated each of them most was the clever and engaging use of perspective, at which Ridolfi had also marvelled when he saw it *in situ* in the Crociferi refectory. His claim that it doubled the actual space of the refectory makes a great deal of sense with regard to both the compositional and iconographic formula at work in the painting. Like Tintoretto's paintings for the chancel, the removal of this *cenacolo* from its original context has robbed it of its ability to engage the spectator as originally intended, both formally and symbolically.

The location of the refectory can be determined from the plan of the monastery previous to the Jesuit renovation (fig. 62).[236] It was a long rectangular space on the far right of the first floor of the cloister, sandwiched between an open courtyard closer to the canal. The Crociferi entered the space at the east end through a small "lavamano", while the Tintoretto hung at the opposite end. At 4.4m in height and

62. Location of the Crociferi refectory and Tintoretto's *Wedding at Cana* on the pre-1667 floorplan of the monastery (see figs. 9, 43)



5.9m in width, the painting would have occupied three quarters of the wall.[237] The canvas was originally rectangular, not rounded on the top, as some have claimed.[238] Both of the lateral walls appear to have been punctuated with windows, placed at intervals consistent with those depicted on the left side of Tintoretto's painting in an attempt to extend the space of the dining hall. The ceiling was probably coffered, an effect that Tintoretto has mirrored, and the stone washbasin to the right of the painting—standard in monastic refectories—would have further enhanced the illusion. The fictive space recedes to three classical arches that open to a blue sky beyond, possibly a response to Sansovino's *loggetta* in Piazza San Marco, something Veronese also mimicked in his San Giorgio version (fig. 63).[239] The festive hanging ribbons billowing in the breeze amplify the impression of open air. The dialogue between painted and architectural space naturally calls to mind Palladio's San Giorgio Maggiore refectory, once decorated by Veronese's massive version of this same subject. Indeed, the two paintings have much in common, but it is significant to remember that while Veronese has been considered the innovator with regard to the relatively unusual subject, his version followed Tintoretto's a year later (1562-3). Given the details of the competition for the altarpiece commission related by Ridolfi, it is tempting to consider the possibility that Veronese saw the San Giorgio commission as an opportunity to engage in a *paragone* with his competitor and suggested the subject to Abbot Girolamo Scrocchetto.[240]

Tintoretto's *Wedding at Cana*: Subject

The more traditional scene for *cenacoli* was the Last Supper. It made sense for a refectory, where *frati* engaged in communal dining in the image of Christ and his disciples, but also functionally, as the usual compositional arrangement called for a horizontally oriented table ideal for filling a wide space. The production of supper pictures had decreased in the earlier part of the century, but picked up again in the 1550's, perhaps as a result of Titian's *Last Supper* for the refectory of the Dominicans at Santi Giovanni e Paolo (1550-7; lost in 1571), followed by a commission from the King of Spain for the Escorial version (1557-64) (fig. 64). The subject chosen by the Crociferi was relatively rare. It depicts the narrative related by John (2:1-12) of a wedding feast at Cana to which Jesus, the Virgin and five disciples were invited. When the Virgin realized the wine had run out, she drew this to the attention of Christ in an appeal for some resolution. Christ instructed the servants to fill the empty vessels with water, which miraculously turned into fine wine. This event is important for a number of reasons that may have inspired its selection. It represents the first public miracle of Christ, one that he enacts at the request of his mother, and in the presence of the disciples, who

63. Paolo Veronese, *Wedding at Cana*, 1562–1563, Musée du Louvre, Paris (formerly in the refectory of the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice)

64. Titian, *Last Supper*, 1557–1564, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

are henceforth convinced of his divinity. The event is not only Christological, but also Marian, as the Virgin's plea to Christ indicates her intercessory role. It has obvious Eucharistic implications, prefiguring Christ's last meal and the consecration of the sacrament in the mass, and it was commonly interpreted as central support for the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It also symbolizes the shift from the Old to the New Order, of Christ's symbolic marriage to the Church, and may also refer to his mystical union with the Virgin, who is not mentioned in the bible again until the Passion. Christ's choice to attend the banquet, and to provide libation has also been accepted as evidence for his support of marriage—which, it is worth noting, Luther had made secular, challenging its status as a sacrament—as well as moderate festivity.[241] Several of the themes referenced in the chancel decoration therefore carry over to the refectory through the selection of this subject. The choice is also reflective of the general atmosphere at the monastery, which could be described as convivial, to say the least. The rather theatrical result Tintoretto achieves in his painting cannot help but bring to mind the *commedie dell'arte* the Crociferi were involved in staging, and the productions Tintoretto would have known through his friend, the playwright Andrea Calmo. We must also bear in mind the rather unusual note in the monastery's 1564 *condizione* that gentlemen were in the habit of coming to stay within the walls of the monastery during Holy Week, at the considerable expense of the Crociferi who were responsible for feeding them.[242] They obviously wanted something more festive for their refectory, perhaps reflective of the patrician demographic at the monastery, not only amongst the *frati*, but also their guests. The legitimacy of egregious display and the nature of banqueting were under the moral microscope during this period. Venice was a city that revelled in any opportunity for sumptuous display, and around the time of the Italian wars a current of thought emerged that viewed decadence amongst the upper class as the root of the difficulties plaguing the Republic. Crociferi protector, Nicolò Zen, articulated these ideas in his 1539 history of Venice. Drawing on the account of Cassiodorus, Zen stressed the uniformity and minimalism of the original Venetian settlement as definitive of the republican ideal. Despite the fact that he was the owner of a newly-built palazzo, Zen spoke out against magnificence, "pomp and needless expenses", calling instead for moderation. Venice formally addressed the issue by creating sumptuary laws, particularly with regard to patrician wedding feasts, which were considered especially prone to luxury and folly.[243] Allerston's essay on finery at Venetian weddings demonstrates that Venetian authorities became especially concerned with ensuring the decorum of these banquets around 1557 and 1562, issuing decrees on everything from the type and amount of food that could be served, the dress of

65. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Wedding at Cana*, c. 1545, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

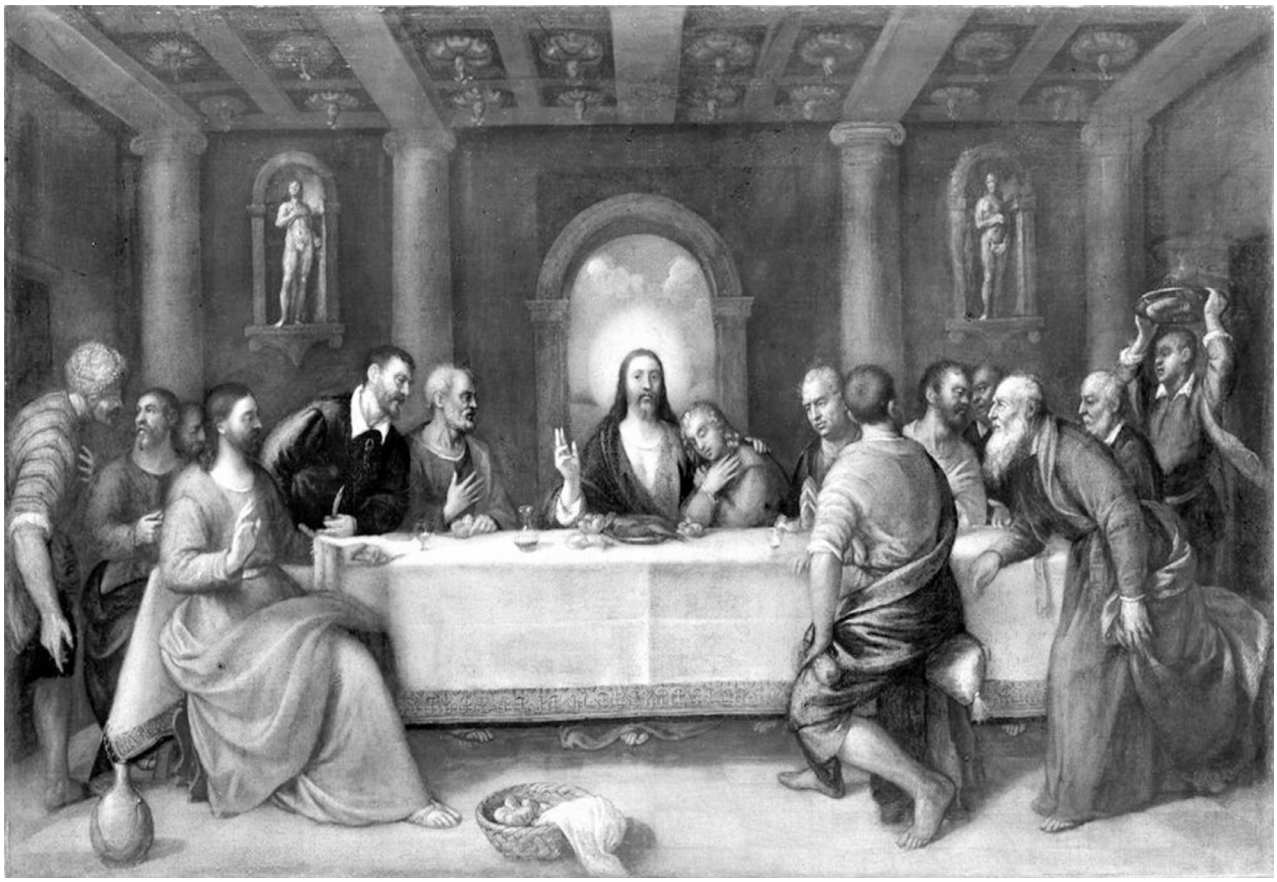
the bride, bridegroom, the servants and their guests, and the decorative touches that adorned the festivities.[244] These regulations, which in many cases went unheeded, had the greatest repercussions for patrician families, to which many of the Crociferi and their patrons belonged. While moderation is never reflected in Veronese's sumptuous feast scenes, it is perhaps more evident in the comparative restraint of Tintoretto's Crociferi painting. There are hints of revelry in the festoons, the musicians, the splendid dress of the celebrants and even the servants, with their pearls and elaborately braided hair. But there is little of the exotic menagerie and material decadence of Veronese's supper paintings (which would ultimately catch the attention of the Inquisition), but only traces in the turbaned figures in the distance, the dog beneath the table and the credenza in the lower right corner that would be so spectacularly rendered by Paolo at San Giorgio. Still, there is nothing sombre about the Crociferi version, and considering the reputation the Crociferi had for relaxation and their obviously keen appreciation for the finer

things, art included, it is perhaps not altogether surprising that the *frati* opted for something a little bit different for their *cenacolo*.

Tintoretto's *Wedding at Cana*: Sources, Experience, Meaning

Tintoretto treated the *Wedding at Cana* at least once before, in the 1540's (Isabella Stewart Gardner, Boston) (fig. 65). Although on a much smaller scale, this painting demonstrates what a difference a few decades can make. The early version shows some effort to extend the fictive space with the addition of a small room in which another feast occurs, receding into the upper right corner. But overall the young Tintoretto arrives at a much more traditional result in the Boston picture, which pales in comparison to the confidence and inventiveness of the Crociferi version. If Tintoretto was looking to anything for inspiration around 1561, it was probably yet another work of art now inaccessible to us: the Titian *Last Supper* from Santi Giovanni e Paolo. D'Argaville has written of the echoes of this lost painting that might be reflected in the slightly later (and hugely altered) Escorial version (fig. 64), and a copy of the Spanish variant at

66. Sixteenth-century copy (after Titian), *Last Supper*, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan



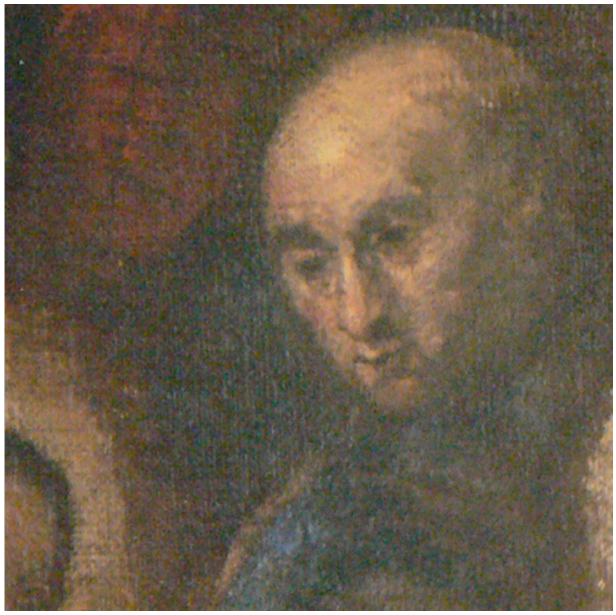
the Brera which captures some vestige of the original composition (fig. 66). Titian was also known to vary the architectural arrangement of his paintings depending on scale and context, although the Escorial painting is an exception. It was not designed for a refectory, and was later cut down to serve as a *cenacolo*, thus the incongruity between the real and painted space. The similarities between these works and Tintoretto's Crociferi painting are mostly spatial, including the tripartite division, the smooth ionic orders, the coffered wooden ceiling compartments, and the opening of the end wall to blue sky beyond. It is impossible to know how responsive Tintoretto was to elements of Titian's lost painting, but it would seem an obvious point of reference.

As in the *Assumption* and *Presentation*, Tintoretto is relatively attentive to detail, particularly with the figures. The robust, yet graceful servant women in the foreground are a feature on which critics consistently remark; Fragonard singled them out for independent study.[245] There is a relatively high degree of finish overall, with some evidence in places of Tintoretto's *prestezza*, particularly in the execution of the vases, which consist of bare ground hastily articulated in black. As in the chancel, Tintoretto's central concern is the play of light and space. He has accounted for the way that the light would enter the room from the left, something that prompted Reynolds to remark that he could imagine Tintoretto using "his pasteboard houses and wax figures for the distribution of masses".[246] Tintoretto has departed from the traditional horizontal *mensa*, opting for a table that recedes into the distance, the perspective terminating on Christ and the Virgin. In doing so he anticipated the effect of his praised San Giorgio Maggiore Last Supper, deepening the experience of the painting by using perspective to emphasise the key protagonists, increasing the legibility of the work. This is in stark contrast to Veronese's version in which the central characters become lost in the sea of tooth-picking guests, soldiers, dwarves and monkeys. When the Tintoretto hung in the refectory, the position of the table would have mirrored the orientation of the actual table at which the Crociferi would have sat, giving them the most rewarding impression that they were actually dining with Christ, who presided as *capotavola*. While the biblical narrative of the Marriage at Cana is relatively brief, it was one of the events on which Aretino expounded at length in his *Humanità di Cristo*, with particular emphasis on the humility of Christ and the Virgin. He adds a detail to the beginning of the story, relating that when they first arrived, Christ and his mother humbly opted to sit at the furthest distance from those of import. The master of the house was quick to ask them to join him at a place of honour at the head of the table.[247] If Tintoretto or the Crociferi were familiar with Aretino's texts, as previously suggested, this might explain his choice to exaggerate their placement at the head of the table through the sharp

recession in space.

The highly individualized faces of the guests might well be portraits, possibly of some of the Crociferi responsible for commissioning the work, another way of engaging the audience (fig. 67). Veronese represented some of the Benedictines in his *Wedding at Cana*, indeed, scholars have recognized the likenesses (some more convincing than others) of notable figures in Veronese's heavily tabled feast.[248] Some supporting evidence for Tintoretto's inclusion of monastic portraits is provided in Paolo del Sera's letters to Leopoldo de' Medici. It has already been noted that the agent attempted to acquire this painting the year before the Crociferi were suppressed, via Del Sera's barber, an amateur *sensale*, who was also the monastery barber. Del Sera had word that the Crociferi wished to sell their prized refectory painting on the condition that it would be taken speedily and quietly out of the city. Del Sera was so fond of the painting that he spent the next two years negotiating its acquisition for Leopoldo, eventually through official channels, before the Senate ruled against the sale. Several years

67. Possible portraits of members of the Crociferi community in Jacopo Tintoretto, *Wedding at Cana*, 1561, Sacristy, Basilica of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice



68. Possible portraits of Girolamo Confalonieri (left) from Marco Basaiti, *Lamentation* (see fig. 34); and (right) Jacopo Tintoretto, *Wedding at Cana* (see figs. 43, 67)

later, he wrote to Leopoldo regarding another picture with Crociferi provenance, this time a portrait:

> "Ho inteso dall favoritissima del 30 del passato, che aveva ricevuto quella testa del Tintoretto, e che gl'era piaciuta, e non vi è immaginabil dubbio, che è di mano del Tintoretto vecchio, prima perchè la maniera lo denota chiaramente come l'Altezza Vostra ben dice, ma poi anco perché fu fatta per un frate dell'ordine de' Crociferi, quando il Tintoretto dipingeva il Cenacolo di essi padri, che è quello che ora la Repubblica l'ha collocato nella sagrestia della chiesa Nuova della Salute, et io lo comperai a dire il vero da un padre del detto ordine suppresso poco fa, che come sia restato a lui non lo so. Basta che lo conosceva molto bene per quel ch'egl'era, e dice esser il ritratto d'un padre Contarini che è quello che ha stampato il Giardino d'Historie, et altre opere, che se questo sia vero o'no', non lo sò bene".[249]

As Del Sera admits, it is impossible to know if the portrait was a likeness of Contarini—particularly because the painting has never been identified—although it is a legitimate possibility. Luigi Contarini was indeed the author of the *Giardino historico*, and he was present at the Venetian monastery during the years in which the work was commissioned. He lived on until the last decade of the century, and continued to play a leading role at the monastery.[250] Ridolfi claimed that Palma included a portrait of Contarini some thirty years later in one of the paintings from the narrative cycle amongst other *frati* witnessing the Venetian ambassador receiving a *breve*

in their favour from Paul IV (fig. 19). Palma made similar individual studies for insertion into the larger paintings, and it is possible that Tintoretto employed a similar practice, although I see no obvious physiognomic similarities between any of the faces depicted by Tintoretto and the portrait Ridolfi identifies in the Palma. If Del Sera's informant was correct about the Contarini portrait, Tintoretto may have inserted others.

As previously noted, Girolamo Confalonieri and Giuliano Cirno served as priors during the years in which the Tintoretto paintings were commissioned. An aged Cirno would be represented several times in Palma's decoration, and Confalonieri's particular penchant for *renovation* and visual self-promotion in the form of the Grandi monument has already been demonstrated. I would suggest, with due caution, that the bald figure at the head of the table between Christ and the Virgin might well be a posthumous portrait of Confalonieri, who died in 1558 at 73 (fig. 68). Tintoretto would have known him from their earlier dealings for the chancel decoration, and the position between Christ and the Virgin would have been a sufficiently honorific way of paying tribute to the recently deceased prior, who probably initiated the redecoration. There is a blue cast to his robe, which was the colour of the Crociferi habit, and his appearance is consistent with a man about Confalonieri's age. Further evidence for this identification may lie in the Basaiti *Lamentation* from Padua, once placed on an altar that was inscribed with the names of Confalonieri and the patron of the work. Accounting for the nearly thirty-five years separating the paintings, there are marked similarities between the facial features of the man in Tintoretto's painting, and the figure of Joseph of Arimathea. The general shape of the features, hooded eyes, rounded forehead and the relatively high position of the ears are close in both. Less convincing is the nose, which is wider in the older man, and the mouth, which has taken on a distinct bow shape that does not seem imminent in the younger man's appearance.

With or without monastic portraits, Tintoretto's painting provided the Crociferi with an engaging and meaningful backdrop to their communal feasting. The message of this work was further enhanced at the beginning of the seventeenth century with the addition of a pendant painting by Odoardo Fialetti, a Bolognese painter, engraver and purported pupil of Tintoretto, best known for his graphic work. In 1674 Boschini recorded a "profanazione de' Sacri vasi fatta da Baldassari [*Belshazzar's Feast*]" in the refectory[251], followed by Malvasia:

> "Nella facciata del Refettorio sopra la porta, l'historia, quando il Rè Assuero profana i Sacri vasi al Convito".

The work obviously hung on the opposite end of the refectory, facing Tintoretto's *cenacolo*. The subject of Belshazzar's

feast is another unconventional choice for a refectory, and perhaps not the most obvious selection as pendant to the *Wedding at Cana*, further evidence of complex theological reasoning behind the decoration. The pairing of New Testament subjects with an Old Testament prefiguration was increasingly popular in the seventeenth century, but the more obvious complement to the *Wedding at Cana* was the related New Testament miracle of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes. This narrative from the book of Daniel involved the Babylonian king, Belshazzar, host of a raucous feast at which he and the other participants drank from the sacred vessels that had been taken (and treated honorifically) from the Temple of Jerusalem by his father, Nebuchadrezzer. They proceeded to worship false idols, "the gods of gold, of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone" (Daniel 3:3). What followed was the mysterious writing on the wall by an unseen hand, text that was later translated by Daniel as a prophecy of Belshazzar's downfall. While the subject represented the antithesis to the message of the Wedding at Cana, the fulcrum of both narratives is what happened to the vessels. In Cana they were consecrated by Christ's miraculous conversion of water into fine wine, while at Belshazzar's feast they desecrated by the act of drinking wine, and through false idolization. While the guests of the banquet at Cana recognized the sacred nature of what had transpired inside the vessels, Belshazzar failed to recognize the Living God, instead glorifying lifeless gods. In this respect the story could be seen as a commentary on the importance of proper preservation of the sacrament, or perhaps even the folly of mistrust in the doctrine of Transubstantiation.[252] Both were of central concern during the Counter Reformation, and the Crociferi library contained various texts by theologians that dealt with the doctrine of the consecration of the Eucharist, some of them controversial.[253] Fialetti's painting was therefore conceived as an obscure cautionary counterpart. It was a warning against hubris, the opposite of the virtue of humility embodied by the Cana narrative, and a demonstration of the consequences of disorderly conduct, excess, and unworthy communion. The painting hung above the exit, just as scenes of the Last Judgment were often situated on the counter façade of churches, to serve as an admonitory parting reminder. Formally, the subject afforded yet another opportunity to depict the splendour of an aristocratic feast, and undoubtedly the pivotal role of the vases in the Old Testament story provided an ideal compositional foil to the vessels in the Tintoretto pendant.

The most obvious precedent for Fialetti's now lost version would have come from the Tintoretto shop where he was a pupil. Since Tintoretto was dead by 1594, we can assign Fialetti's arrival in Venice to sometime in the preceding years. His most likely source would have been Tintoretto's lost fresco of the subject on the

façade of the Casa dei Fabbri all' Arsenale, still visible in 1664.[254] One would expect that he rose to the compositional challenge laid out by Tintoretto, perhaps even providing the spectator with a similar illusion of the extension of space on the other end of the refectory. The painting was recorded in the 1656 inventory as "l'altro di Odoardo", and the Jesuits retained it until sometime after 1664, or perhaps 1678.[255]

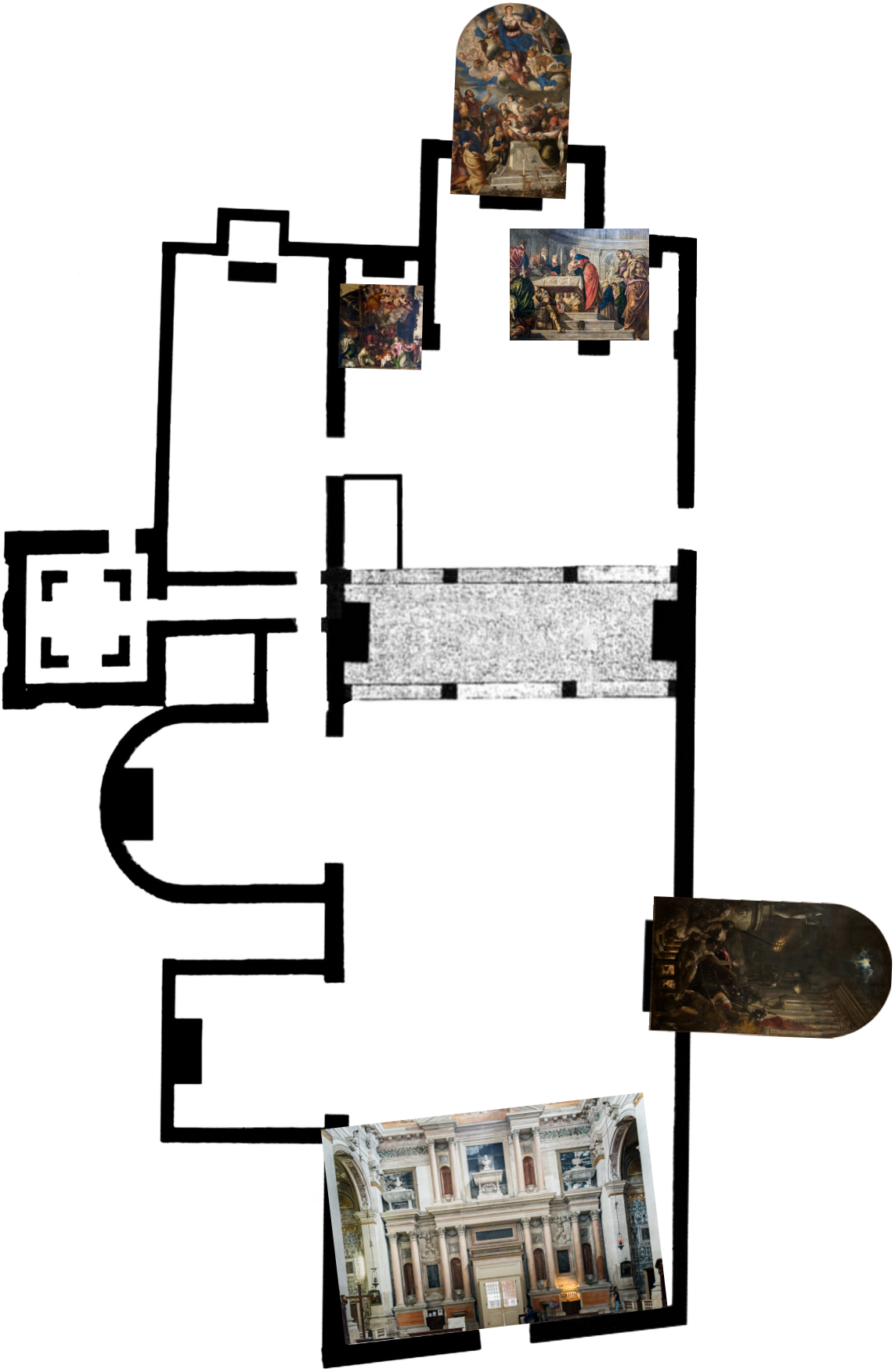
Fialetti's introduction to the Crociferi may have been through the Tintoretto shop, or even through Palma, the favoured artist of the Crociferi, with whom Fialetti collaborated in 1608 on his *Il vero modo et ordine per dissegnar tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano*. Fialetti may also have made the contact through the motherhouse in his native Bologna. Malvasia claimed that Fialetti lodged at the Venetian monastery while recovering from an illness after his return from Rome, and it was perhaps as a result of their generosity that he produced the engraving of Tintoretto's *Wedding at Cana*, probably around 1612 (fig. 54).[256] Its favourable reception may have led to the painting commission. The inscription on the bottom of the engraving names *Crocifero Opilio Versa Cremasco*, whom Fialetti refers to as "Mio Sig^{r} et Patron Osserian^{mo}". Two heraldic shields are placed at the corners of Fialetti's engraving, one the symbol of the Crociferi, the other probably belonging to Versa.[257] The only trace of Versa I found comes from a letter written to him in Bologna by Marc' Antonio Querini sometime before 1613, the year after the engraving was produced.[258] Perhaps Versa was at the Venetian monastery while Fialetti convalesced, but perhaps more likely, Versa was Fialetti's Bolognese connection to the Venetian house, and the engraving was sent to him in thanks for the recommendation. In the inscription he specifies that the Tintoretto painting is in the refectory of the monastery in Venice, suggesting Versa may not have known it firsthand.

❧

This chapter has sought to demonstrate the active involvement of the Crociferi in the organisation and conceptualisation of the decorative project. Their concerted effort to attract affluent and influential corporate and private patrons who might adorn their church—literally or figuratively—can be seen as a part of a restoration, not only of the church, but also of the order's reputation after a period of decline. The sacred themes at work in the chancel and refectory are demonstrative of an effort on the part of the Crociferi to visually assert their adherence to central aspects of Counter-Reformation orthodoxy and their reformed status.

By 1565 the Crociferi church contained

69. Floorplan of the Church of the Crociferi (dated to 1581) with painting by (clockwise from top left): Paolo Veronese (see fig. 127), Jacopo Tintoretto (see fig. 41), Titian (see fig. 157), and Alessandro Vittoria (see fig. 148)



works by most of the celebrated artists of the sixteenth century, whether as a result of the direct patronage of the Crociferi, or their input into commissions of lay and corporate supporters (fig. 69). This speaks to their understanding of the latest artistic developments; their altarpiece and the works that surrounded in conformed to major trends in church decoration of the period in its formal arrangement, its mixture of media, the inclusion of lateral paintings, and of course in the selection of interrelated subjects. The quality of the paintings produced by the notoriously inconsistent Tintoretto is also indicative of a judicious patron. Given the learned patrician character of the monastery and its supporters, it is not surprising to find that the Crociferi appreciated visual art and its function. The nature and scope of the decoration testifies to their stance on the use of visual art for instruction and inspiration, an attitude that anticipated the official decrees of the Council of Trent.

The project to redecorate the church did not end mid-century, but entered a second phase in which the Crociferi continued to develop their commissions to shifting taste and trends; there was a focus on bringing formal unity to the altars down the nave, and to adding narrative cycles to the sacristy, choir, organ and hospital. The emphasis on the Eucharist became more pronounced, and the decoration made explicit reference to the Crociferi and its history. While Crociferi fingerprints could be discerned in this first phase, they would be virtually everywhere by the turn of the century.

[1] U. Franzoni and D. Di Stefano, Le Chiese di Venezia (Venice, 1976), 150. Part of the present chapter was summarized and reworked in Allison Sherman, "La collocazione originale del Martirio di San Lorenzo di Tiziano: la chiesa scomparsa di Chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi", in *La Notte di San Lorenzo: genesi, contesti, peripezie di un capolavoro di Tiziano*, eds. Lionello Puppi and Letizia Lonzi (Crocetta del Montello, TV, 2013), pp. 16–43. See Add. I for the unpublished original English version of the essay.

[2] ASV, SDC, B. 33, n. 173. See App. X.

[3] *Codices Vaticani*, 1985; A. Barzazi, "Ordini religiosi e biblioteche a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 21 (1995), 187-91. The inventory (c.1598-1603) encompassed both the communal library and the personal collections of individual Crociferi.

[4] Boldù, 1571, 1r.

[5] D. Bryant and E. Quaranta, "Come si consuma (e perché si produce) la musica sacra da chiesa?" in *Architecture, Musical Composition and Performance*, ed. D. Howard (2006), 269. An anonymous 1588 description of the churches of Conegliano noted that San Martino was among a few churches where music could be heard: "i quali [i Crociferi] porgon prieghi al Signore con organi, canti et musica".

[6] AST, CRS, SMR, B. 11, c. 18v, 53r and ASV, SDC, B. 33, n. 173. At Venice there was an annual expense for the "maestro insegna cantar alli novitii, diaconi et sudiaconi, et professi", as well as a "maestro insegna à sonar à 3 padri". ASV, AP, c. 124v, and ASV, ZC, *Libro di Spese*, c. 21r. The 1656 inventory of the church recorded 14 "libri di cantar" in the choir, and Priamo Balbi's account book entries for 1593 record a payment to the shop of "Mag.ro Zonta per uno salmista delli Grandi per il choro".

[7] E. Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco* (Florence, 1998), 33. The salary was 33 ducats, as opposed to the 36 paid to the organist at San Pietro. The average salary was 10-15 ducats. See App. X.

[8] App.V for his biography.

[9] G. D'Alessi, "Precursors of Adriano Willaert in the Practice of "Coro Spezzato" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5 (1952), 187.

[10] D. Bryant, "The 'Cori Spezzati' of St. Mark's: Myth and Reality" *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 165-86; L. Moretti, "Architectural spaces for music: Jacopo Sansovino and Adrian Willaert at St. Mark's" *Early Music History* 23 (2004), 153-84; Howard and Moretti, 2009, 26-8.

[11] A six-voice madrigal followed. *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, eds. B. J. Blackburn, E. Lowinsky, C. Miller (Oxford, 1991), 709-11, 789. Aaron likely made the initial connection with the Crociferi in Venice. Until 1540 he was a correspondent of Venetian Crocifero Fra Gregorio Corbelli, and both Corbelli and Aaron were correspondents of Giovanni del Lago, a music theorist and a member of clergy at Santa Sofia who also had Crociferi connections. Del Lago's unpublished letters include

his correspondence with Aaron, but also the accomplished organist, Giovanni da Lezze (Da Leze or Da Legge), a member of a family of Crociferi supporters who would ultimately be buried in the church. Sanudo described him as "a consummate musician" and related the circumstances of Giovanni's 1526 trip to England, which he took in hopes the king would be impressed with his musical talents and would provide him with a salary "as he had done for the Crocifero of Cà Memo for whom he provided largely".

[12] AST, CSR, SMR, B. 12. The inventory listed two *salmiste* and two *libri di motetti*.

[13] ASV, PSMsupra, Commissarie, B. 104

[14] App.V for his biography.

[15] App.V and App.VI.

[16] G. Padoan, *Momenti del Rinascimento Veneto* (Padua, 1978), 34-8.

[17] App.VI.

[18] P. Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia nella vita privata* (Bergamo, 1928), vol. 2, 394-414; G. Padoan, *L'avventura della commedia rinascimentale*, 1996, 93; R. Ferguson, *The theatre of Angelo Beolco (Ruzante)* (Ravenna, 2000), 166-7. Where these performances took place remains unclear; some have assumed that it was in the cloister or the refectory. Since the monastery was destroyed in 1513 and not rebuilt until 1543, this seems unlikely. It is more plausible that they were staged in one of the many properties the Crociferi owned near the monastery, probably indoors, since Sanudo attended plays in the cold winter months.

[19] Sanudo records performances at San Cancian, Santo Stefano, San Salvador and Santa Maria e San Donato on Murano.

[20] E. Concina, "Fra Oriente e Occidente: gli Zen, un palazzo e il mito di Trebisonda" in *"Renovatio Urbis"; Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)* ed. M. Tafuri (Rome, 1984), 269-70.

[21] ASVat, VA, 96, cc. 72v-73r. Hieronimus Rubeus Baccalaureus and Felix Spadius Venetus Lector, Baccalareus. Marcantonio Querini was a member of the Accademia degli Intenti in Pavia, Francesco Gatta of the Accademia dei Nobili in Venice, and Bernardo Forlì of the Accademia of the Alletati.

[22] 21 Leoni, 1598, 1r-v. On the involvement of friars in the editing of vernacular texts in Venice: B. Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2004), 28-47.

[23] Barzazi, 1995, 187. Notes: "tra i religiosi si contavano scrittori di qualche fame, alieni dal latino e saldamente attaccati al volgare".

[24] In 1536 he published Adrian Willaert's *Cantus liber quinque Missarum Adrian Willaert* "In Vinegia per Francesco Marcolini da Forlì ne le case de i Frati Crosechieri".

[25] P. Humfrey, *Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, 1993), 39. There is no record of what decorated the high altars of the Frari, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Santa Maria dei Servi, Santo Stefano, or the Carmini.

[26] Sanudo, *I diarii*, V, 637, 714.

[27] ASVat, CSR, 24, c. 19r. "Nel passagio di Borbone fu incendiato tutto il mon[aste]ro e la maggior parte della Chiesa, che

percio il Pre. M[aest]ro Archangelo de Cremaschi all'hora Generale Perpetuo rifece la Chiesa et edificio l'alta volta il mon[aste]ro assai ristretto". See App.V.

[28] BCT, Mss.474, c. 631v.

[29] This was probably in fact the *Symbolic Representation of the Crucifixion* by Giovanni Mansueti (The National Gallery, London).

[30] Cima may have been residing in the city as early as the mid 1480's, however his earliest datable Venetian work is the Madonna dell'Orto *sacra conversazione* (1493).

[31] AST, CSR, SMR, Liber H, Inventario 1518, cc. 6r, 9v-12r.

[32] ASV, Arti, B. 719, n. 30 III, c. 3r.

[33] BMC, Mariegola 58, 1r-v; ASV, PdC, Reg. O, cc. 309r-311v (27 January 1519).

[34] Humfrey, 1993, 87.

[35] *Ibid.*, 96. For altarpieces commissioned for the various monasteries and friaries from 1450-1530: Table 8, 90. P. Humfrey, "Co-Ordinated Altarpieces in Renaissance Venice: The Progress of an Ideal" in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, eds. Humfrey and Kemp (Cambridge, 1990), 195.

[36] On San Giovanni in Bragora: Humfrey, 1980, 350-63. On San Giovanni Crisostomo, see: C. Bertini, "I committenti della pala di S. Giovanni Crisostomo di Sebastiano del Piombo", *Storia dell'Arte* 53 (1985), 23-31; M. Lattanzi, "La Pala di San Giovanni *Crisostomo* di Giovanni Bellini: il soggetto, la committenza, il significato" *Artibus et Historiae* 2 (1981), 32.

[37] On San Zaccaria: Radke, 2001, 430-59. On Santa Maria Maggiore: Walberg, 2005, 259-303.

[38] On clerical patronage: Humfrey, 1993, 89-103. On the Frari: P. Humfrey, "The Pre-history of Titian's *Assunta*" in *Titian 500*, ed. J. Manca (National Gallery of Art, *Studies in the History of Art* 45), 1993, 223-43; D. Rosand, "Titian in the Frari", *The Art Bulletin*, 53, no. 2 (1971), 196-213; R. Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian, and the Franciscans* (New Haven, 1986). Two further examples: the Canons of Santa Maria della Carità organised the formally unified Bellini triptychs beneath choir, and the Canons at San Salvador coordinated decoration that favoured Titian, who completed a *Transfiguration* for the high altar, and was to provide altarpieces for the chapels belonging to families on either side of the nave, but only the *Annunciation* was realized.

[39] Goffen, 1986, 142.

[40] Humfrey, 1993, 96. The prior's suggestion to suppress the dedication to a popular Franciscan saint is evidence of his interest in a larger narrative programme.

[41] Humfrey, *Pre-history*, 1993, 236.

[42] P. Humfrey, "Veronese's High Altarpiece for San Sebastiano" in *Venice Reconsidered*, eds. J. Martin and D. Romano (Baltimore, 2000), 365-88; T. Pignatti, *Le pitture di Paolo Veronese nella chiesa di S. Sebastiano in Venezia* (Milan, 1966), 76-8.

[43] Humfrey, 2000, 370.

[44] Humfrey, 2000, 366. Although the altarpiece was actually commissioned by Lise Querini, the widow of, Giovanni Soranzo, who was also buried beneath the high altar, Torlioni must have been heavily in-

volved in the conception of the painting.

[45] Humfrey, 1990, 191; Humfrey, 2000, 371.

[46] M. Kahr, "The Meaning of Veronese's Paintings in the Church of San Sebastiano in Venice", *JWCI*, 33 (1970), 236-7; Humfrey, 1990, 191.

[47] App.V.

[48] Lunardon, 157-8.

[49] See App.V.

[50] The sole exception was 1551, when Jacopo Antonio Boldù was recorded as prior. ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. 12, fasc.10b, c. 1r.

[51] BCT, Mss. 474, c. 619v.

[52] BCT, Mss.474, c. 419r. The Treviso manuscript records an inscription from the Paduan church that refers to him as Milanese: "Fr. Hieronymi Confalonierii Mediol. Obiit. II. Kal. Sept. 1558. Vite sue Anno 73". Confalonieri is referred to as "Prefecto et Instauratoris". ASPat, CSM, B. 7. His nephew, Simone Rossi ("Simon Rubens Bressano"), was dispatched from Venice to assume the role of prior at Padua at the behest of Paul IV.

[53] A. Portenari, *Della felicità di Padova*, (Padua, 1623), Libro 9, Cap.XXXII, 464-5.

[54] Portenari, 1623, Libro 9, Cap. XXXII, 464-5; B. Scardeone, *De Anitquatate Urbis Patavii & claris civibus Patavinis*, 1560, Libro 3, fol.91. Rossi was prior there in 1555, 1558-9 (ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 392/3).

[55] G. Toffanin, *Cento chiese Padovane* (Padua, 1985), 76-7. My attempts to consult its archive, which Da Mosto described as containing "moltissime carte", were in vain. What remains was repatriated from the Venetian archive to the Archivio di Stato di Padova and has been absorbed into a collection of three hundred uncatalogued *buste*.

[56] ASV, PSMsupra, B. 104, fasc. 4e (16 February 1548).

[57] The inscription: "Jo: Hier. Grandus pat. sculpebat. 1549". For descriptions of the monument: Scardeone, 1560, Libro 3, fol. 91; Portenari, 1623, Libro 9, Cap. XXXII, 464-5; *Urbis Patavinae Inscriptiones sacrae, et prophane a magistro Jacobo Salomonio ord. praed.*, 1701, 185; G. Rossetti, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture ed architetture di Padova*, (Padua, 1780), 256-8; P. Brandolese, *Pitture, sculture, architetture ed altri cose notabili di Padova*, (Padua, 1795), 197-8; F. Cessi, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi scultori* (Trent, 1967), vol. 2, 384-5.

[58] Howard, 1975, 81-2, 175, n. 88.

[59] Brandolese, 1795, 197.

[60] Although not separated by an actual frame, but by faux architectural elements, a Coronation topped Alvise Vivarini's Frari *St. Ambrose Enthroned* (1508), finished by Basaiti after Vivarini's death.

[61] M. Scierbasciova, "La 'Pieta' di Marco Basaiti nell'Ermitage", *AV*, 15 (1961), 228-9; T. Fomichova, *Venetian Painting* (Florence, 1992), 37, cat. 9. (Inventory no. 5517, Oil on panel, 122 × 154 cm).

[62] Humfrey, 1993, 250 and 355, cat. 74.

[63] A precedent for a depiction of the subject without the cross: Cima's version in the Galleria Estense, Modena, c.1495-7.

[64] "M. Baxaiti F. MDXXVII"

[65] On the increase in narrative subjects in Venetian altarpieces: Humfrey, 1993, 248-259.

[66] M. Boschini, *La carta del navegar pitoresco*. 1664. Ed. A. Pallucchini (Venice, 1966), 362; H. Tietze, *Tintoretto: the paintings and drawings* (London, 1948), 367-368.

[67] C. Ridolfi, *The Life of Tintoretto*, 1648, eds. R. and C. Enggass (University Park, 1984), 79. A. M. Zanetti (*Della pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche de' veneziani maestri*, Venice, 1771, 145) also considered it one of Tintoretto's finest: "la famosa tavola dell'Assunta, una delle più compiute opere del Tintoretto. Vegga questa tavola chi crede mancar molto alle pitture di questo Maestro, quando sono più condotte e finite; e mi dirà poi se potrà, che non si trova in essa lo spirito, e la solita grandezza di stile di quel vivacissimo pennello. Ha questa pittura di singolare molta vaghezza, belle tinte di panni, e un bell' andare di pieghe, assai raro nel Tintoretto".

[68] Sansovino, 1581, 60a-b. ASVat, VA, 96, c. 71v. The apostolic visitors noted: "Altare maius Assumption B.M.a ornatissimum in omnibus consecratum et testum tela cerata, bona nulla annezza est ei societas".

[69] On the *Presentation*: Sansovino, 1581, 60a; V. Borghini, *Il riposo* (Florence, 1584), 553; C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, 1648, ed. D. von Hadeln (Rome, 1965), II, 38; Boschini, 1664, 422 and *Le ricche minere della pittura veneziana* (Venice, 1674), 11; Zanetti, 1771, 145. See also: R. Pallucchini and P. Rossi, *Tintoretto. Le opere sacre e profane* (Milan, 1982), 167-9, cat. 168; R. Krischel, "Ein unbekanntes und einige wenig beachtete Gemälde des Jacopo Tintoretto" *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 53 (1992), 45-82; M. Matile, "*Quadri laterali, ovvero conseguenze di una collocazione ingrata: sui dipinti di storie sacre nell'opere di Jacopo Tintoretto*," *VC*, 6 (1996), 185-88; F. Ilchman, "The Presentation of Christ in the Temple" in *Tintoretto*, ed. M. Falomir (exh. cat, Prado, Madrid, 2007), 294-6, cat. 30.

[70] A painting that was probably the one in question was listed as "su il altar grande" in a 1645 inventory of the Scuola dei Varoteri (ASV, Arti, B. 719, n. 11). The lateral paintings were not listed in the 1656 inventory of the church, probably because they belonged to guilds. G. Barri, *Viaggio pittoresco* (Venice, 1671), 59. Barri, who visited the church and engraved the Veronese *Nativity* noted: "poi dell'Altare maggiore con l'Assuntione della Madonna, tanto bella, che io sono in dubbio se debba dire, che sia assolutamente la più superba opera, che habbia mai fatto il Tintoretto, & à mano dritta del detto Altare vi è un quadro con la Visitatione di Maria à Santa Elisabetta. Opera d'Andrea Schiavon; e dall'altra parte vi è la Circoncisione del Signore inventione bizarra al solito del Tintoretto". Boschini (1674, 384) did not mention the Schiavone, but recorded the Tintoretto in the sacristy, where the state inspector saw it in 1773 (ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, B. 909). No mention was made of the Schiavone. Perhaps, one Schiavone *Visitation (?)* survives (Venice, Private Collection, oil on panel). F. Richardson, *Andrea Schiavone*, (Oxford, 1980), 183-4. Like the Tintoretto, it features some classical architecture,

and the composition is organised in such a way that it could potentially have hung on the left wall. It is of unknown provenance, however its dimensions (172 × 164 cm) preclude it from being a pendant to the Tintoretto.

[71] G. Vasari. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetturi*. 1568. Gaetano Milanesi, ed. (Florence, 1878-1885), VII, 519.

[72] For example, his *stucchi* figures in the Stanza degli Imperatori in Palazzo Thiene at Vicenza (1553), were characterized by massive proportions, *contraposto* poses and musculature. V. Avery, "Alessandro Vittoria: the Michelangelo of Venice?" in *Reactions to the Master*, eds. F. Ames-Lewis and P. Joannides (Aldershot, 2003), 157- 79.

[73] ASV, AP, c. 123r.

[74] S. Mason Rinaldi, "Jacopo Palma il Giovane all'ospedaletto dei Crociferi: una nuova cronologia", *AV*, 31 (1977), 240-250.

[75] Humfrey, 1990, 192; Humfrey, 1993, 146-151.

[76] C. Gould, "The Cinquecento at Venice: III: Tintoretto and Space", *Apollo*, 96 (1972), 36.

[77] *Sprezzatura*, nonchalance, or concealment of effort to give the impression of ease of execution. P. Sohm, *Pittoresco* (Cambridge, 1991), 160-162; M. Roskill, *Dolce's* Aretino *and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (Toronto, 2000), 21-22, 301.

[78] For Tintoretto's critical reception: A. Lepschy, *Tintoretto Observed* (Ravenna, 1983).

[79] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 38.

[80] For instance, Ridolfi mistakenly assigns his birth date to 1512. In his description of the San Rocco competition he adds Tintoretto's early mentor Andrea Schiavone to the list of competitors, overlooking the fact that by 1564 he had been dead nearly a year, a mistake repeated from Vasari.

[81] C. Gould, "Ridolfi the Historian" *Apollo* 125 (1987), 199.

[82] R. Pallucchini, *La giovinezza del Tintoretto* (Milan, 1950), 97-98.

[83] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 261; Vasari's testimony about Tintoretto predates Ridolfi's, however he provides only a cursory treatment in the 1568 life of Battista Franco. Vasari, 1568, 587-88.

[84] D. M. Federici, *Memorie Trevigiane* (Venezia, 1803); M. Lucco, *I dipinti della chiesa di San Martino a Conegliano*, (Conegliano, 1981), 11. Federici recorded "molti bei dipinti in S. Martino" by Carlo Ridolfi, "l'autore delle Meraviglie dell'Arte".

[85] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 261.

[86] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 27-28.

[87] For example, he produced organ shutters for Santa Maria del Giglio in two weeks. On Tintoretto's marketing: P. Hills, "Tintoretto's Marketing" in *Venedig und Oberdeutschland in der Renaissance*, eds. Roeck, Bergdolt and Martin (Sigmaringen, 1993), 107-120; T. Nichols, "Tintoretto, prestezza and the poligrafi: a study in the literary and visual culture of Cinquecento Venice" *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996): 72- 90.

[88] Ridolfi, 1648, I, 349.

[89] P. Sohm, *Style in the art theory of early mod-*

ern Italy (Cambridge, 2001), 37-39.

[90] P. Hills, 1993, 107-120, and *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice*, ed. F. Ilchman (exh. cat, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2009).

[91] For Boschini's testimony on Titian's working practice: P. Humfrey, *Titian* (London, 2007), 201-202.

[92] Enggass, 21.

[93] F. Ilchman, "Venetian Painting in an Age of Rivals" in *Renaissance Rivals*, 2009, 21-38.

[94] R. Echols, "Tintoretto the Painter" in *Tintoretto*, 2007, 44.

[95] Sohm, 2001, 190-193. The term "*vago*" is used to describe a spectrum of feelings that a viewer might experience in response to an image, but not be able to articulate; its power to move and inspire, to dazzle and deceive with its ability to convey the unknowable.

[96] M. Boschini, *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (Venice, 1660), 329. "Là tute le maniere ghe xe unie: Gh'è Paulo veronese, gh'è Tician, Ghe xe 'l Schiavon, gh'è Giacomo Bassan".

[97] Pallucchini and Rossi, 1982, I, 169, cat. 170.

[98] R. Echols, "The Decisive Years: 1547-1555" in *Tintoretto*, 2007, 213-217.

[99] Recently Ilchman and Echols have suggested a date of early-mid 1560's for the *Assunta* (*Rivals in Renaissance Venice*, 2009, 147). Most have agreed to a date of 1554-1555, with the exception of Rearick who pushed the date to post-1582, contending Tintoretto quoted the Veronese Umilità *Assunta*, dated to 1562, and his high altarpiece for Santa Maria Maggiore, dated to 1581-1582 (W. R. Rearick, "Tintoretto's Bamberg *Assunta*," in *Art, the Ape of Nature*, eds. M. Barasch, et al., (New York, 1981), 367-373, 371). Pallucchini and Rossi rejected this date as "insostenibile". Falomir and Nichols have both noted that purely autograph works such as the Crociferi *Assumption* are rare in Tintoretto's work after 1577 (T. Nichols, *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity* (London, 1999), 105; M. Falomir, "Jacopo Comin" in *Tintoretto*, 2007, 21). For dating of the *Assumption*: H. Tietze, *Tintoretto: the paintings and drawings* (London, 1948), 367-368; P. De Vecchi, *L'opera completa del Tintoretto* (Milan, 1970), II, 98, cat. 110; Pallucchini and Rossi, 1982, I, 169, cat. 170; Krischel, 1992, 62-5.

[100] F. Ilchman, "The Presentation of Christ in the Temple" in *Tintoretto*, 2007, 294-6, cat. 30. See also: S. Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia, opere d'arte del secolo XVI* (Rome, 1962), 233, cat. 406.

[101] Wilde published it in "Die Mostra del Tintoretto zu Venedig" *ZfK* 8 (1938): 145. The painting was dated to the mid-1550s by Erich von der Bercken [*Die Gemälde des Jacopo Tintoretto* (Munich, 1942), 104]. Rearick associated the picture published by Wilde with the one he saw in the Obere Pfaarkirche, where it was moved after World War II. (Rearick, 1981, 367-373) Rearick dated it to c.1562. See: E. Weddigen, "Zur Ikonographie der Bamberger Assunta von Jacopo Tintoretto," in *Die Bamberger "Himmelfahrt Marie" von*

Jacopo Tintoretto (Munich, 1988), 61-112.

[102] Crociferi version: 440 × 260cm, Bamberg version: 437 × 265 cm.

[103] ASV, DSR, B. 120, n. 1848, c. 1r; T. Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1976, I, doc. 7, 251. Vincenzo Zen received an income from "Paulo veronesi pictor" for the use of the house in the *Corte della Candela*, just behind the Crociferi oratory.

[104] Matile, 1996, 151-206.

[105] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 38. Ridolfi relates that he was given the commission for the refectory painting because of "le cose operate nella cappella".

[106] Avery, 2003, 163. It was precisely during this period that the influence of sculpture on Tintoretto's style was at its height. The three-dimensional quality of sculpture appealed to Tintoretto, who came under the influence of Alessandro Vittoria, but also Jacopo Sansovino during the 1540's and 50's. B. Boucher, "Artes cognatae: the relationship between painting and sculpture in the time of Tintoretto" in *Jacopo Tintoretto nel quarto centenario della morte*, eds. P. Rossi and L. Puppi (Padua, 1996), 241-6.

[107] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 39-40.

[108] *Catalogo della pinacoteca della Fondazione scientifica Querini Stampalia*, eds. M. Dazzi and E. Merkel (Venice, 1979), 15-21. Francesco died in 1554.

[109] *Ibid.*, 29.

[110] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 71v. "…bonna nulla annezza est ei societas".

[111] Humfrey, 1993, 97.

[112] Goffen, 1986, 84; Humfrey, 1993, 84.

[113] Priamo, a Procurator of St. Mark, was balloted for doge in 1553, 1554 and 1556.

[114] M. Dario, "Autoglorificazione patrizia e architettura: il caso della famiglia Da Lezze alla Misericordia" *SV* 30 (1995), 192.

[115] ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 372. March 5, 1554. The Crociferi outline a dispute with Nicolò Zen and suspend him as procurator. They note: "Il Cl^{mo} M. Catharin padri di voi Mag^{ro} M. Nicolo Zen da poi che per xxv et più anni continui governo Noi frati del mon^{rio} di Crosichieri et fo vero nostro Procurator et Protitto".

[116] See App. V.

[117] ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 372. The documents in this *busta* are mixed "estraordinaria". A series of documents throughout March of 1554 outline the dispute.

[118] ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 372. March 5, 1554. "…slargandovi il campo non solo davanti la casa nostro, ma dalla banda del vostro Monasterio dandovi del nostro Terreno et fabricandovi il luogo della lavandera vostra, per il quale ancora non ho havuto dinaro alcuno".

[119] He took up his first major posts in the months following the resignation. For his extensive resumè, including Savio di Terraferma and Provveditore all'Arsenale: O. Pinessi, "Tintoretto e gli Zen. 'El caballero de la cadena de oro': Nicolò Zen", *Arte Documento*, 23 (2007), 156.

[120] ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 359, cc. 89v-90v. May 1543 election of priors at various Crociferi monasteries mentions "Cl^{mo} D. Stephanus Thiepulo pr^{or} et p.tector dicti mon^{o}". ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 372. April 19, 1549, Confalonieri refers to Stefano Tiepolo and Nicolò Zen as "procurato-

ri laici". ASV, Barbaro, VII. 32, 75-6, 84. Stefano (q. Paolo) lived in Santi Apostoli, was elected Procurator de Ultra in June 1553, served as Captain General, received votes in the ducal elections of 1553, 1554.

[121] ASV, NA, Figolin, B. 5696.

[122] BMC, Mss. PD. c. 2190/I(9), "Crociferi nominate Procurator Paolo Tiepolo"; M. Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano* (Venice, 2002), 47-8. Paolo was an important figure in papal diplomacy and spent several years (1571-2) as ambassador to the court of Pius V.

[123] P. Molmenti, "Un poeta uxoricida del secolo XVI", *Nuova Antologia*, 1927, 133-4.

[124] Titian knew Della Casa before his arrival in Venice in September 1547. He did one, possibly two portraits of Della Casa, and produced works for the court of Paul III, to which the nuncio was tied. Titian was one of the first to visit the nuncio in 1547, undoubtedly calling on him in relation to his campaign to obtain a benefice from Paul III. In 1547 Della Casa acted as an intermediary between Titian and the Farnese court to secure the artist the role of keeper of the keys following the death of Sebastiano del Piombo. Muttini, "Giovanni Della Casa" in *DBI*, XXXVI (1988), 713; R. Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese, Giovanni della Casa and Titian's Danae in Naples" *JWCI* 54 (1991), 159-171; C. Terribile, "Il Doge Francesco Donà e la Pala di San Giovanni Elemosinario di Tiziano", *Venezia Cinquecento*, 14 (1997), 124-6; A. Santosuosso, "Giovanni Della Casa and his lost portrait by Titian", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 57 (1995), 111-118; C. Terribile, "Quale volto per monsignor Della Casa?" in *Giovanni della Casa: un seminario per il centenario*, ed. A. Quandam (Rome, 2006), 79-130.

[125] Della Casa was the author of poetry, political treatises, an influential book on manners, and in his early years, burlesque writings.

[126] ASPat, CSM, B. 7, n. 62. (December 9, 1544). "Joannes de la Casa, Eletto di Benevento, ed altri collettori indicati a proposito di alcune lettere del cardinale diacono Alessandro Farnese per la riduzione delle tasse ai Crociferi di S. Maria a Venezia".

[127] M. Mari, "Le Lettere di Giovanni della Casa ad Annibale Rucellai" in *Per Giovanni della Casa*, eds. G. Barbbarisi and C. Berra (Bologna, 1997), 409.

[128] Gaier, 2002, 17. In 1582 the nuns of Santa Maria della Celestia held a contest for procurator in hopes of accelerating the reconstruction of their church.

[129] F. Sansovino, *Delle cose notabili* (Venice, 1561), c. 74v.

[130] P. Rossi, *Tintoretto. I ritratti*, (Venice, 1973), 106.

[131] Pinessi, 2007, 104-121. Pinessi advances a convincing argument for a later date than had traditionally been applied to it by Rearick, who assigned it to 1545-7, and Von der Bercken, Pallucchini and Rossi, who preferred a date of 1555-60. Falomir, 2007, 282-4, cat. 29.

[132] The portrait, once thought to depict Francesco Savorgnan del Torre, has been accepted as one of Nicolò, probably the one seen by Vasari in the home of

Danese Cattaneo. The date recently attached to the Titian of about 1565-6 must be pushed back in order to accept the Tintoretto as a likeness of Zen, who appears much older than in the Kingston Lacy portrait. D. Jaffé, "Nicolò Zen" in *Titian* (exh. cat. National Gallery, London, 2003), cat. 39; S. Sponza, "Un dipinto di Tiziano riconosciuto: il 'ritratto di Nicolò Zono' a Kingston Lacy" in *Pittura veneziana dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, ed. G.M. Pilo (Venice, 1999), 57-62.

[133] C. Cairns, *Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice* (Florence, 1985), 15-16. Zen published: *Storia della guerra veneto-turca* of 1537; *Dell'Origine de' Barbari, che distrussero per tutto 'l mondo l' Imperio di Roma, onde hebbe principio la città di Venetia* of 1557.

[134] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 54; E. Weddigen, "L'Adultera del Tintoretto della Galleria Nazionale di Roma" *AV* 24 (1970), 81-92. S. Martinelli. "L'Entrata di Cristo in Gerusalemme" in *Jacopo Tintoretto* 1519-1594. *Il grande collezionismo mediceo*, ed. M. Chiarini (Florence, 1994), 50-51.

[135] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 1648, 15; Boschini, 1660, 312.

[136] F. Lucchetta, "L'Affare Zen in Levante nel primo Cinquecento" *SV* 10 (1968), Appendix XXVIII; ASV, NT (Marsilio), B. 1213, n. 889. Zen specified: "sopra le mie case depenti tutti i fatti notabili del quandam Messer Carlo Zen, che fece per la Republica".

[137] A. M. Zanetti, *Della Pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche dei Veneziani Maestri* (Venice, 1792), 2nd ed, vol. I, lib. 3, 331; L. Foscari, *Affreschi esterne a Venezia* (Milan, 1936), 67; Pallucchini and Rossi, 1982, 26.

[138] Concina, 1984, 153. Testimony of "Maestro Salvatore, murarius" in 1566 states that it had been four years since the palazzo "è fabbricata".

[139] Paoletti, 1893, II, 186; Pallucchini, 1950, 83.

[140] Pinessi, 2007, 115.

[141] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 15-16; Boschini, 1664, 252; Zanetti, 1771, 146; Pallucchini and Rossi, 1982, 266. Boschini, 1674, 386. "Intorno la detta stanza vi e un fregio con la vita di S. Barbara della puerizia del Tintoretto".

[142] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 15-16; Foscari, 1936, 67. Ridolfi notes "la figura di san Cristoforo sopra il campo, ora del tutto consumata".

[143] Rossi, 1973, 150-2. There are three portraits of Priamo by Tintoretto and shop (Pallavicini Collection, Rome; Ringling Museum, Sarasota; Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice).

[144] Priamo signed a contract for Vittoria's work at San Francesco della Vigna in 1557. Giovanni signed the contracts for Vittoria's Marciana Feminioni in 1553, for the *stucchi* for the staircase, for the reading room of the library and the office of the Procuratia in 1556, 1559 and 1560. V. Avery, 'Documenti sulla vita e opere di Alessandro Vittoria', *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, 78 (Supplemento, 1999), 21, doc. 17ii; 43, doc. 40iii; 55-6, doc. 52iii; T. Martin, *Alessandro Vittoria and the portrait bust in Renaissance Venice* (New York, 1998), 55, 116-118.

[145] Pallucchini and Rossi, 1976, 265. Dolce objected to the anachronistic inclusion

of these individuals in the painting, while Vasari praised the work, particularly the portraits. Roskill, 1968, 124; Vasari, 1568, VI, 588-9.

[146] ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 372. 5 March 1554.

[147] P. Hills, "Piety and Patronage in Cinquecento Venice: Tintoretto and the Scuole del Sacramento". *Art History* 6, no. 1 (1983), 31; Matile, 1996, 151-2.

[148] M. Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1979).

[149] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 70r.

[150] G. Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi* (Vicenza, 2004), 578-9 and 583-4.

[151] Matile, 1996; Krischel, 1992.

[152] G. Monticolo. *I capitolari delle arti veneziane sottoposte alla Giustizia e pei alla Giustizia Vecchia*, II, Rome, 1905, XCVI-II; D. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple" *The Art Bulletin* 28 (1946), 17-32.

[153] S. Gramigna and A. Perissa, *Scuole di arti mestieri e devozione* (Venice, 1981), 108.

[154] Vio, 2004, 533.

[155] ASV, Arti, B. 719, n. 11.

[156] Barri, 1671, 59; Boschini, 1674, 384; Martinelli, 1684, 223; BMC, Mariegola 116, c. 139r-v.

[157] A stone engraved with a barrel is still visible in the pavement around the high altar of the Jesuit church, a record of their use of the space. Further evidence is the barrel positioned on the steps in the Tintoretto *Presentation*, admittedly a feature that could have been added at a later date. Ilchman (*Tintoretto*, 2007, cat. 31) and Krischel (1992, 79) both note that x-rays revealed a crest beneath the barrel, suggesting the work may have meant for another patron. This is unlikely, as the composition was clearly tailored to fit its place in the church. My attempt to obtain a copy of the x-ray for the purposes of comparison with *stemmi* was unsuccessful. Honofri, *Cronologia veneta* (Venice, 1663), 165-166. Claims that the *varoteri* and *botteri* had rights to the high altar. It is important to note that by 1663 the Jesuits had rearranged, rededicated and added altars.

[158] BMC, Mariegola 116, c. 139v. It was obviously meant to return to the main chapel, something that probably never happened; instead it ended up in the sacristy.

[159] Matile, 1996, 188, 205, n. 121, 123. The lateral wall measured approximately 9.4m, and the Tintoretto, while large, is only 3m wide. He suggests, and is correct to reject the possibility that the Veronese *Nativity* was a part of this ensemble. It was consistently recorded as a lateral painting for the chapel of the silk-weavers.

[160] Walberg, 2005, 286-287; Matile, 1996, 205, n. 122.

[161] Martinelli, 1684, 222; ASV, SPS, BVC, B.196.

[162] ASV, SPS, BVC, B. 196. Inventories from 1707 onward located the *Meeting of Joachim and Anna* above the *banco* belonging to the *scuola* beneath the pulpit, probably in front of the choir. The *Nativity* was recorded "presso l'altare" in 1620. K. Prijatelj, *Matej Ponzoni-Poncun* (Split, 1970), 61.

[163] ASV, NA, Fiume, B. 5698, cc. 36v-38r.

[164] P. Humfrey and R. Mackenney, "The Venetian Trade Guilds as Patrons of Art in the Renaissance" *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986), 317-30; Humfrey, 1993, 58-60.

[165] Matile, 1996, 152; Hills, 1983, 30.

[166] Nichols, 1999, 145.

[167] P. Humfrey, "Altarpieces and altar dedications in Counter-Reformation Venice and the Veneto" *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996), 379.

[168] R. Chavasse, "Latin Lay Piety and Vernacular Lay Piety in Word and Image: Venice, 1471-early 1500's" *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996), 322. By Bernardo Giustinian's 1457 tally, there were twenty-one churches, three hundred altars, two Scuole Grandi and innumerable devotional confraternities with Marian dedications.

[169] D. Rosand. *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill, 2001), 12.

[170] E. Muir. *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), 135-56; D. Rosand. "'Veneta figurata': The Iconography of a Myth" in *Interpretazioni Veneziane*, 1984, 177- 96.

[171] Rosand, 2001, 36, 100-114. Rosand refers specifically to the city's conception of itself as "Venetia Vergine". Sansovino spoke of its uncorrupted purity and "long survival intact against outside forces".

[172] Humfrey, 1996, 379; Chavasse, 1996, 322-323.

[173] E. O'Connor, *Dogma of the Immaculate Conception* (Notre Dame, 1958), 192.

[174] Shorr, 1946, 19.

[175] Humfrey, *Pre-history*, 1993, 236-7; Rosand, 1971, 196-213.

[176] Humfrey, 1993, 59.

[177] Rearick, 1981, 368-9; Weddigen, 1988, 88-9; Humfrey, 1996, 372.

[178] Humfrey, *Pre-history*, 1993, 233-5. The first known Venetian depiction of the Assumption, Jacopo Moranzone's version of 1441 for the church of Sant'Elena (now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice) exemplifies the early static, iconic format that was the fashion initially. Gradually more naturalism, movement and drama was introduced by Alvise Vivarini (Brera, Milan, 1478), Lotto's *Assumption of the Virgin with St. Anthony Abbot and St. Louis of Toulouse* (Asolo, 1506), Giovanni Bellini's *Assumption of the Virgin with Saints* (formerly in Santa Maria degli Angeli, now San Pietro Martire, 1505-1510), Palma Vecchio's *Assumption of the Virgin* (formerly for the Scuola di Santa Maria Maggiore, now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, 1514).

[179] Chavasse, 1996, 328.

[180] Weddigen, 1988, 69, 74-76.

[181] R. B. Waddington, "Pietro Aretino, religious writer" *in Renaissance Studies*. 20 (2006): 277-292. Aretino published *La Passione di Giesu* and *I sette Salmi della Penitentia di Davide* in 1534, *Humanità di Christo* in the following year, *Il Genesi* in 1538, and the *Vita di Maria vergine*, *Vita di Caterina vergine* and *Vita di San Tommaso* in 1539, 1540 and 1543.

[182] Waddington, 2006, 279.

[183] C. Hope, "Aspects of Criticism in Art and Literature in Sixteenth-Century Italy" *Word and Image* 4 (1988), 1-10.

[184] J. Anderson, "Pietro Aretino and Sacred

Imagery" in *Interpretazioni veneziane*, 1984, 275-90; U. Roman D'Elia. *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings* (Cambridge, 2005).

[185] R. Echols, "The Decisive Years", 220 and F. Ilchman, "Tintoretto as a Painter of Religious Narrative" in *Tintoretto*, 2007, 86; A. Jacobson Schutte. *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books* 1465-1550 (Geneva, 1983), 53.

[186] *Pietro Aretino. Le Lettere*, ed. F. Erspamer, 1995, I, 625-6, no. 304.

[187] Roman D'Elia, 2005, 116.

[188] Weddigen, 1988, 88.

[189] His completed other versions for the church of San Stin (1549-1550, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), San Polo (1575), and the Scuola di San Rocco (1582-1587).

[190] L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien* (Paris, 1955-59), III, pt. 2.

[191] Weddigen, 1988, 74, 103-104, n. 47

[192] Weddigen, 1988, 67.

[193] Rearick, 1981, 368, 370.

[194] O'Connor, 1958, 364.

[195] Weddigen, 1988, 73-74.

[196] Roman D'Elia, 2005, 116; Weddigen, 1988, 76.

[197] Weddigen, 1988, 77.

[198] Weddigen, 1988, 80.

[199] P. Fehl, *Decorum and wit* (Vienna, 1992), 167. Inquisitors placed Aretino's religious texts on the list of prohibited books in 1557.

[200] Della Casa returned to Venice in 1549, remaining until 1553, when he moved to the Abbazia di Sant'Eustachio near Treviso, where he composed his *Il Galateo*, a treatise on manners. A. Santosuosso, "Religious Orthodoxy, Dissent and Suppression in Venice in the 1540s" *Church History* 42 (1973), 477-8. On the nunciature of Giovanni della Casa: L. Campana, "Monsignor Giovannni della Casa e i suoi tempi" *Studi storici* 16 (1907), 527-80; 17 (1908), 145-282; 18 (1909), 325-58.

[201] O. Battistella, *Di Giovanni della Casa e di altri letterati all'Abbazia dei Conti di Collalto in Nervesa intorno alla metà del sec. XVI* (Treviso, 1904). Della Casa visited Conegliano on several occasions while at Nervesa, and while there was hosted by the Crociferi of San Martino, as he had intervened on their behalf as nuncio in 1545. City officials accused them of mismanaging their *ospizio*, and under Della Casa's protection, the denouncement did not proceed. N. Faldon, *La chiesa di San Martino di Conegliano*, 1979, 12, and M. Baldissin and L. Caniato, *La Chiesa di Santi Martino e Rosa in Conegliano*, 1998, 11.

[202] For the inventory of his library: E. Scarpa, "La biblioteca di Giovanni della Casa" *La Bibliofilia. Rivista di storia del libro e di bibliografia* 82 (1980), 247-80.

[203] Santosuosso, 1995, 115-16. Vasari provides details about Della Casa's interest in visual arts in the life of Daniele da Volterra, from whom Della Casa commissioned several paintings. Vasari claimed that Della Casa was writing "un trattato delle cose di pitture" that never materialized.

[204] Ilchman, "Tintoretto as a Painter of Religious Narrative" in *Tintoretto*, 2007, 84-86.

[205] Barzazi, 1995, 190-1. For example, they

possessed a copy of the decrees of the Council of Trent, two manuals for inquisitors, works by the theologian Roberto Bellarmine who articulated the central religious controversies of the time, a work of criticism of the Beneficio di Christo by Politi, and a compendium of "errori et inganni luterani".

[206] C. Gould, "The Cinquecento at Venice. I. Two Crises" *Apollo* 95 (1972), 380.

[207] Humfrey, 1996, 380. The first known appearance of the aureole of twelve stars in a Venetian image dates to 1350 (a polyptych attributed to Jacobello di Bonomo, National Gallery, London). M. Levi D'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*, 1957, 24; M. Vloberg. "The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception" in O'Connor, 1958, 469-470.

[208] Levi d'Ancona, 1957, 5.

[209] *Ibid.*, 1957, 6.

[210] H. S. Ettlinger. "The Iconography of the Columns in Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece" *The Art Bulletin* 61 (1979), 61, 63. The text used for centuries as the Office of the Assumption of the Virgin, Ecclesiasticus 24, was also used as the main textual proof of the Immaculate Conception.

[211] Goffen, 1986, 141. Santa Maria dei Miracoli (1489), the Scuola di Santa Maria della Misericordia (1493), and the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità (1496). There was also a chapel dedicated to the Concezione at Santa Maria Formosa. S. Steer, "Tota pulchra, et formosa es Maria et macula originalis non est in te: The Congregation of Clergy at Santa Maria Formosa, Venice, and Their Altar of the Immaculate Conception" *Artibus et Historiae* 27 (2006), 111-123.

[212] Goffen (1986, 94) argued that Giovanni Bellini's *Assumption of the Virgin with Saints* (formerly in Santa Maria degli Angeli on Murano, c. 1510) was in fact a representation of the Immaculate Conception. Humfrey (1993, 250, 334-5, n. 34) has shown that this is contradicted by the dedication of the altar to the Assumption and non- specific iconography. Dal Pozzolo's argument for Immaculatist references in Lorenzo Lotto's *Assumption of the Virgin with St. Anthony and St. Louis of Toulouse* (Asolo, 1506) is problematic for the same reasons. E. M. Dal Pozzolo, "Lorenzo Lotto 1506: la pala di Asolo" *Artibus et historiae* 11 (1990), 89-110.

[213] S. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge, 1994), 58. The Council of Trent avoided committing in any definitive way to the doctrine, instead decreeing that the Virgin's life was free of "sinful acts and fleshy corruption", and as such was untouched by original sin, that her conception was immaculate, and that her bodily assumption was in fact proof of this fact.

[214] ASV, SPS, BVC, B. 196, c. 5v. The altar is described in 1720 as: "L'altar nostro del'Imacolatta Concetion".

[215] G. A. Bruzio, *Theatrum Romanae Urbis sive romanorum sacrae aedis*, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 11869, 11896, 19, 700-703; F. Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma* (Rome, 1763), 354-5.

[216] Stratton, 1994, 46-60. In Spain references to the Apocalyptic Woman were consistently made in representations of the Assumption, particularly in the seventeenth century. Stratton suggests that the notion of merging the iconography of the Woman of the Apocalypse with that of the Assumption originated in the Netherlands.

[217] Humfrey, 1996, 379.

[218] Weddigen, 1988, 83.

[219] J. Shearman, *Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988), 57.

[220] Ilchman, "Tintoretto as a Painter of Religious Narrative" in *Tintoretto*, 2007, 71.

[221] Gould, 1972, 37.

[222] This represents a departure from the earlier compositional model of an intimate close- up with the figures in half or three-quarter length, such as Giovanni Bellini's version at the Museo Fodazione Querini Stampalia, Venice (fig. 57). F. Cocchiara, "'La Presentazione de Gesù al Tempio e Purificazione di Maria' di Jacopo Tintoretto ai Carmini", *VC* 16 (2006), 232-41.

[223] For example, the narrative cycles of Carpaccio and the Bellini, Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin* for the Scuola Grande della Carità, and Tintoretto's own version of the same subject at the Madonna dell'Orto.

[224] Krischel, 1992, 62-4. Tintoretto evokes the temple while referencing Bramantesque and Serlian architecture. Krischel recognizes the elements of the Tempietto and the Cappella Pellegrini at Verona.

[225] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 38. "...situando la mensa ove si appoggia il Sacerdote, e la Vergine che tiene fra le braccia il Bambino, in tale maniera accomodata, che per di sotto si veggono alcune figure lontane, e un giro di architettura che ne forma un sito curioso e pellegrino, che di gran fatto superò l'emulo suo".

[226] Tintoretto used a similar technique in his San Cassiano *Crucifixion laterale* (1565-1568), in which the three crosses were shifted from the traditional central position to the far right of the composition.

[227] There are traces of some of these compositional ideas in earlier version of the subject at the church of the Carmini (once attributed to Schiavone, see fig. 58), which falls somewhere between the traditional representations of this subject (such as Carpaccio's San Giobbe version), and the Crociferi painting. Cocchiara, 2006, 189-272.

[228] Shorr, 1957, 17.

[229] *Venezia Restaurata (1966-1986)* (Milan, 1986), 115.

[230] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 38-9. He relates that the work "mediante la positura di quella mensa e l'intavolato del soffitto compartito in molto spatij, tirati in prospettiva, si allunga il Refettorio in modo, che pare si raddoppino le mense e i conviti". Boschini, 1660, 468- 70; Boschini, 1664, 351; Boschini, 1674, 28; Zanetti, 1771, 146.

[231] *Jacopo Tintoretto e i suoi incisori* (exh. cat, Palazzo Ducale, Venice, 1994), 76, 94. It was engraved by Odoardo Fialetti in 1612 (fig. 60), and by Giovanni Volpato in 1722 (fig. 61). Pallucchini and Rossi, 1982, 181.

There is a seicento copy in the Museo Correr by a Greco-Veneto painter (Inv. Cl. I. n. 255) (fig. 62), another in Montecitorio, and one in the Ospizio Priuli.

[232] ASV, Senato Terra, filz.663 (24 May 1659).

[233] W. Cotton, *Sir Joshua Reynolds and his works* (London, 1859), 40-1. One of 400 paintings sold from the Reynolds collection in 1795 was a copy of the "Feast at Canaan by Tintoret", described as "a study for the picture in the refectory of the Padri Crociferi at Venice". Getty Provenance Index, Sale Cat. Br-A5462. Whether or not it was actually a Tintoretto *bozzetto* is impossible to know without the object itself.

[234] Lepschy, 1983, 170-1; Cotton, 1859, 41. Ruskin said: "Taken as a whole, it is perhaps the most perfect example which human art has produced of the utmost possible sharpness of shadow, united with richness of local colour".

[235] The progress of the proposal is outlined in Ruskin's letters to Charles Eastlake, who acted as intermediary between Ruskin in Venice and the trustees. Ruskin reported that the paintings were "for the most part rotting on the walls", and that given credentials he would "send home two such pictures as English eyes never yet saw". It was offered for 5,000 pounds, but the plan was rejected in June of 1852. J. Ruskin, *Diaries* (1848-1873), eds. J. Evans and J. H. Whitehouse (Oxford, 1958), vol. II, 73; E. T. Cook, *The Life of Ruskin* (London, 1911), 40-3.

[236] Vallery-Radot, 1960, 94, n. 361, Hd-4d, 195.

[237] Matile, 1996, 173. The refectory was roughly 17 × 19 m.

[238] ASV, PSMsupra, Chiesa, B. 153, proc.309, fasc.1, c.11r; ASV, CRS, Santa Maria della Salute, B. 55, fasc. A, c.11r-v. At present, the top corners of the painting are clearly additions. Several archival documents from June of 1659 record that the corners of the painting were cut off during the time the painting spent near the altar of the Madonna in San Marco, where the Procuratori initially had plans to place it. They had frame made for it, a curtain made to protect it, and two gilded St. Marks were placed in either corner of the painting: "Quadro grande, et lungo delle Nozze sopradette Insoazato con soaze dorate grandi, et riquadrato nel di sopra con doi San Marchi pure dorati fatti dalle detti S.S. Procuratori, era già nel refettorio delli Padri Cruciferi di mano del Tentoreto vecchio....Fù fatto al detto Quadro una coltrina in due parti di tela nostrana rossa con suoi cordoni di feleselo e ferro di sopra per preservarlo dalla polvere". The application of a visible stamp of governmental possession seems to have been a standard practice during the Seicento as a means of protecting notable works from theft. The Procuratori did the same with the Jacopo Bassano *Ark of Noah* from the refectory of Santa Maria Maggiore. In 1705 the Inquisitori di Stato caught the *abbadessa* selling paintings in the middle of the night to Ludovico Altovrandi of Bologna, who planned to replace the originals with copies. The Senate records that "a tutti fosse impresso il suggello pubblico

affinchè il Leone di San Marco colla sua maestà proteggesse capitali così pretiosi in ornamento et decoro delle chiese e di questa Dominante". Zanetti later remarked on the tradition of applying a "S. Marco di rilievo decreto per ordine publico". See: R. Fulin, "L'arca di Noè di Giacomo da Ponte detto il Bassano" *Atti dell'Ateneo Veneto*, ser. II, 5 (1868), 87, 97.

[239] G. Pavanello, "Più vino per la festa" in *Il Miracolo di Cana*, ed. G. Pavanello (Venice, 2007), 25.

[240] *Ibid.*, 15.

[241] Réau, 1957, v. 2, pt. 2, 362-5.

[242] ASV, SDC, B. 33, f. 173, c. 11.

[243] N. Zen, *Dell'Origine de' Barbari*, 1557; Tafuri, 1993, 2-6; P. Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, 2004), 5, 35.

[244] P. Allerston, "Wedding Finery in sixteenth-century Venice" in *Marriage in Italy*, eds. K. Lowe and T. Dean (Cambridge, 2002), 25-40. For the 1562 sumptuary laws: *Venice: a documentary history, 1450-1630*, eds. D. Chambers, et. al. (Toronto, 2001), 178-9, docs. 22, 23. On banquets: *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, eds. M. Ajmar-Wollheim and F. Dennis (London, 2006), 246-67, and P. Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 1928, II, 332-5.

[245] Rosenberg, "Tintoretto et Fragonard" in *Jacopo Tintoretto: Quarto centenario dopo la morte*, 1996, 27-8, 294, fig. 8.

[246] Cotton, 1895, 40. Recalling Ridolfi's description of his practice of using dioramas.

[247] P. Aretino, *Humanità di Cristo* (Venice, 1551), Libro II. See also: E. Boillet, *L'Aretin et la Bible* (Geneva, 2007), 428-431.

[248] Pavanello, 2007, 25. Aretino, Charles V, Francis I, Vittoria Colonna, and even Veronese, Titian, Tintoretto and Bassano.

[249] ASF, Carteggio d'artisti, VI, c. 275v (October 1662). The painting to which Del Sera refers has not been traced. P. Barocchi, *Archivio del Collezionismo mediceo* (Milan, 1987), 325. The source for Del Sera's information about the identity of the sitter was undoubtedly one of the former Crociferi he would have come to know during the earlier transaction.

[250] App. V.

[251] Boschini, 1674, 335.

[252] The Eucharistic symbolism of Belshazzar's Feast was emphasised in seventeenth-century religious dramas, particularly in Spain. Pedro Calderón made this connection in his version of Belshazzar's Feast in his in *Autos Sacramentales*, a collection of allegories on the mystery of the Eucharist.

[253] They owned several works by Christophe de Cheffontaine, who was instrumental in the extension of the Italian confraternity of the Holy Sacrament to France, and whose writings on the consecration of the sacrament were condemned to the index of prohibited books.

[254] Ridolfi, 1648, II 17; Boschini, 1664, 169.

[255] ASV, AP, c. 125v; C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice* (Bologna, 1678), 311.

[256] Malvasia, 1678, 311.

[257] E. Morando di Custoza, *Libro d'arme di Venezia* (Verona, 1979). No *stemma* for any Venetian family corresponds.

[258] M.A. Querini, *Lettere* (Venice, 1613), 77v.

4

Monastic Patronage Second Phase (1580-1620)

Rebirth and Reconstruction[1]

The period of rebirth within the order endured into the second half of the sixteenth century, fuelled by ongoing reform under a leading group of *frati*. This spirit of renewal is reflected in the undertaking of two major reconstructions from 1573-1580 in Rome and Verona, achieved under the guidance of the longtime Venetian prior, Giuliano Cirno, who by the early 1570's was serving as Master General.[2] After its cession to the Crociferi in 1560, the church of Santa Maria in Trivio near the Trevi Fountain was rebuilt from 1573-1575 (fig. 71). Again, an illustrious supporter was behind this *renovatio*, and a Venetian supporter at that. Cardinal Alvise Corner (1516-1584), nephew of Caterina Corner, and descendant of the great Corner *della Regina* of San Polo line, was the protector of the Roman Crociferi and oversaw the rebuilding.[3] A *libro di spese* discovered amongst fragments in the Procuratori archive records some of the expenses for the building of the church, including a payment in 1575 "all'Architetto di Roma per cortesia per il disegno mandato a Venezia", and also for the construction of the choir (above the entrance door) in 1578.[4] The Crociferi had evidently been saving for the project for some time, as the *libri di spese* of San Martino di Conegliano record that a

70. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Self Portrait as a Crocifero*, c. 1606, formerly Bardisian Collection, Venice (see page 160)

71. Giacomo del Duca, Church of Santa Maria in Trivio, Rome, 1575-1578

tax was levied against each of the monasteries of the order for 100 *scudi d'oro* a year from 1568-1570, and 50 in 1571 and 1572 directed toward "la fabrica del luoco nostro di Roma".[5]

It is possible that Corner became acquainted with the Crociferi at the lively Venetian monastery, but it was the Roman house that benefited from his influence. A member of a family that had been patron to Sanmicheli and Sansovino in Venice, Corner must surely have been involved in the selection of the architect. The Sicilian follower of Michelangelo, Giacomo del Duca, was chosen. He was also responsible for the grand façade of Corner's adjacent palazzo (1579-1582).[6] Corner was buried at the centre of the church, where an engraved slab still marks his tomb, and an apostolic visit of 1593 records that, contrary to previous claims, he had an altar on the left side of the church dedicated to the Baptist at which a mass was celebrated in his honour until the Crociferi were suppressed.[7] The altar does not seem to have been decorated in any notable fashion. Bruzio recorded an altarpiece by a follower of Palma il Gio-

vane, but was more taken by two flanking columns of "rarissima" *verde antico* marble.[8] I think that it is reasonable to conclude that Corner was financially responsible, at least in part, for the building of this church, given that he is referred to as "benefactor", but also given the rather unremarkable nature of his altar. One would expect something far more sophisticated from a member of a family of astute patrons of art and architecture; his brother would commission a substantial funerary monument (attributed to Giacomo della Porta) for the counter façade of San Silvestro al Quirinale, and the next generation would be responsible for a lavish burial chapel by Bernini at Santa Maria della Vittoria. It is therefore likely that Alvise considered the Crociferi church as a whole a monument to his memory.

As this project was concluding in June of 1577, it was decided, again under the leadership of Cirno, that the church of San Luca di Verona be rebuilt.[9] It was completed over the next decade with monastery funds, and "per mezo della Pietà de secolari infervorati all'elemosine da Predicationi de nostri Padri della Religione et principalmente dal Prete Maestro Ottaviano Semitecolo Venetiano".[10] Francesco Torbido, Jacopo Ligozzi, Claudio Ridolfi and Alessandro Turchi decorated its altars.[11]

Two factors were central to these projects: 1) the initiative of Cirno and the order to provide their churches with facelifts reflective of their rehabilitated status, and 2) the attraction of an illustrious patron to provide practical and even financial support. Both factors would also be central to a second phase of decoration at the Venetian monastery.

The Impetus for the Second Phase

Several fortuitous events unique to the Venetian house seem to have precipitated this second phase of decoration. The first was the release of the Crociferi from the *commenda* in 1568. This represented a fresh start for the brothers, releasing them from a burden to both their finances and their reputation. Further financial freedom was achieved in the early 1580's when a settlement was reached with the Procuratori de Citra, the government officials charged with overseeing the Zen legacy on which the hospital was dependent. Mismanagement of the funds was uncovered as a result of investigations by Fra Priamo Balbi, who served for two decades as the "hospitalano and procurator". Reparations came in 1583, perhaps through the intervention of Pasquale Cicogna, Procurator of St. Mark.[12] As it transpired, the Crociferi would have one final powerful advocate in Cicogna, who emerged as the dark horse in the 1585 ducal election. It was often the case that candidates for the top job were drawn from the powerful ranks of the *procuratori*. In 1585 there was a favourite among the procurators: Vincenzo Morosini. What could not have been predicted was the feeling in the Maggior

72. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Votive Painting of Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, c.1595, Sala dei Pregadi, Palazzo Ducale, Venice (see also fig. 24)

Consiglio that a doge from less ancient extraction than the venerable Morosini might prove a better choice to replace Nicolò da Ponte, whose dogate had been troubled with armed riots. Cicogna's family entered the Maggior Consiglio in 1381 (just a century after the *serrata*), and it was only in his lifetime—partially as a result of his success—that members of his family were serving in higher offices. Thus Cicogna entered one of the more hotly debated ducal races, which dragged on through an astonishing 53 rounds of balloting until Morosini passed his votes to Cicogna, who became the 88th doge.[13] Contemporary testimony reports a lack of enthusiasm in the piazza upon the announcement, probably because the pub-

lic was expecting the wealthy Morosini.[14] The election of Cicogna, a man of far lesser means, was testament to the fact that in the Venetian system, extraction from a noble family, not wealth, was the only definite criteria for political power. No more prepared for the news was Cicogna; he received the word while attending mass at the high altar of the Crociferi church, an event immortalized in the Palma il Giovane narrative cycle in the chapel of the hospital (fig. 38). Divine providence had seen fit to seal what must have been an existing relationship between Cicogna and the *frati*. It was, of course, a place and time in which such occurrences were interpreted as heavenly signs, and Cicogna, a deeply pious man, had already been the recipient of several celestial messages.[15] He took to his heart the site where his fortunes had so dramatically changed, and the Crociferi gained another protector of the highest calibre. Cicogna's dedication found expression in a number of ways. It cannot be coincidence that during his extremely proactive dogate—which saw the rebuilding of the Rialto bridge, the construction of Palladio's church of the Redentore and the fortress of Palmanuova—substantial funds were directed to urban development in the area around the church with the building of the Fondamenta Nuove in 1589, a measure taken partly to secure the monastic settlements in danger of eroding into the lagoon.[16] The Crociferi church figured prominently in the visual propaganda

73. *Osella of Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, 1592, obverse and reverse

produced during Cicogna's dogate—votive imagery at the ducal palace (fig. 72)[17], coins (fig. 73)[18], and ultimately his tomb. The doge wished to repose in eternal proximity to the place where he had been touched by the divine. His testament provided for a mass in his honour at the altar where "per gratia d'Iddio havessimo la nova dell'ellettion nostra al Ducato".[19] The will stipulated for a tomb, one "con ogni modestia, perche siamo lontani da ogni mondano ambitione", on which he wished his standard be placed.[20] This claim of modesty is reflected in his choice against burial in that pantheon of doges, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, and also in the monument itself,

75. Girolamo Campagna, *Tomb of Doge Marino Grimani*, c. 1601–1604, Church of San Giuseppe di Castello, Venice

74. (left) Girolamo Campagna, *Tomb of Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, 1595–1604, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

a work by Girolamo Campagna (figs. 74, 76). We know that the tomb was still in progress in 1604, although the effigy of the doge was complete.[21] Work on the monument probably commenced soon after Cicogna's death in April of 1595, but completion was delayed, perhaps because of a subsequent commission for the tomb of Doge Marino Grimani at San Giuseppe di Castello, or even due to financial complications.[22] The monument survived the Jesuit rebuild, but was dismantled and relocated above the sacristy door. Its original position was on the opposite side of the church above the door that once led to the cloister. Surrounded by architectural elements—black marble Corinthian columns topped with a triangular pediment with dentilled moulding and the Cicogna arms at its apex—an Istrian stone effigy of Cicogna, his robes of gilded gold brocade, reposes casually atop a marble sarcophagus. Campagna has achieved a

76. Girolamo Campagna, *Effigy of Doge Pasquale Cicogna* (detal, fig. 74)

kind of ease and presence in his likeness of the doge that many of his attempts at portraiture lacked.[23] The doge's serene expression and relaxed pose communicate the critical message that five surrounding inscriptions define: this was a doge who could rest with ease after a life marked by peace, pious acts, the love of his people and divine intervention.[24] Although grand in its references to triumphal architecture, Cicogna's monument is in fact modest in comparison to the majority of ducal tombs, taking for example that of Marino Grimani (1601–1604), a larger and more ornate monument (figs. 75, 77).

77. Girolamo Campagna, *Effigy of Doge Marino Grimani* (detail, fig. 75)

One doubts very much whether the Crociferi were particularly concerned with its grandeur; the prestige that accompanied the presence of a ducal tomb would have been of central import. In death as in life, Pasquale Cicogna made it his business to put the Crociferi on the map, something that the Crociferi visually advertised in the narrative cycle in their hospital, the first initiative of the second phase of redecoration.

Priamo Balbi

The efforts of Lunardon and Mason Rinaldi have furthered our knowledge of the circumstances and chronology of the hospital refurbishment. I can add little to what they have already established beyond the odd detail or correction, and because my already broad focus is restricted to the church, I will discuss the hospital decoration only as it relates to my arguments regarding the church decoration.

The first generation of Crociferi patrons nurtured a second in the later part of the century. It was this quorum of *frati* who initiated the redecoration of the oratory, choir, organ, sacristy, library and various altars. Many of these Crociferi facilitated and inspired the rejuvenation, but at the heart of this project was a single Crocifero: Priamo Balbi.

Balbi served for two decades as the *hospitalano* of the *ospizio*, not as a prior of the monastery, a distinction frequently confused.[25] His Venetian patrician surname suggests he entered the order at Venice, possibly because of an existing connection between his family and the order.[26] He was a *sacerdote* in 1562, 1564 and 1566, later serving as the prior at Conegliano (1574–78).[27] By 1581 he was among the highest-ranking Crociferi listed in the apostolic visit, by which time he had been in charge of the hospital for at least a year.[28] To our great benefit, Priamo was a meticulous record keeper, leaving behind two account books in which he logged the expenses of the various projects at the hospital and church. These *libri di spese* survive in the archive of the Procuratori de citra, as it was largely the *commissaria* Zen that funded the renovations. They narrate the chronology of the projects, document the coordination of labour between various trades, and confirm the proactive patronage of the Crociferi. The extent to which this was the case emerges strongly out of a 1594 *relazione* by Balbi entitled "Memorial delle refatte nel hospital e sagrestie". It amounts to a brief autobiography in which Balbi boasts of his achievements, stressing his responsibility for coordinating multiple aspects of the projects to redecorate the hospital and church, starting around 1582–3. In order to fund the project he initiated two financial disputes on the hospital's behalf with the help of his brother, "avocato della Religione".[29] He claims to have "brought to light through much personal effort and with great ex-

78. Portrait of Priamo Balbi (detail, fig. 11)

pense"[30] the complaint of mismanagement against the procurators, which after nine years of deliberation resulted in compensation that funded the decoration at the hospital *and* church, aided by funds from *mansonarie*, including that of distinguished Crocifero, Lauro Badoer.[31] Among the results he lists are an increase in capacity at the hospital to 13 residents, the provision of a doctor, medicine and funerals for the women, the new *banchi di noghera* for the chapel of the hospital, its *istorie*, a decorative ceiling, and the Palma il Giovane altarpiece depicting the *Adoration of the Magi* (lost). Remarkably, in the space of less than fifteen years, he was also able to coordinate the building of a new monastic library, and redecorate the sacristy, choir and organ. Even though each project cost in excess

of 1,000 ducats, he stresses "il Monastero non ha datto niente" and that "con la mia industria hoa fatto far il tutto".

The Second Generation

Priamo was well placed to inherit the tradition of coordinated patronage from his industrious predecessors. He entered the order during the frenzy of decorative activity during the late 1550's and 1560's, undertaken by priors Confalonieri and Cirno. Cirno, Luigi Contarini and Jacopo Antonio Boldù provided a bridge between the two eras; they were a part of the hierarchy during the previous decades and continued to serve as priors and Masters General well into the 1580's and 1590's, undoubtedly supporting Priamo's initiatives.[32] Others who provided critical support were Crociferi who had ascended the ranks with Balbi, most of them fellow Venetians: Stefano Leoni, Vittore Soranzo, Faustino Bondumier, Liberale Marino, Tiberio Foresti, Agostino Graziano, Francesco Fossano, Zaccaria Barbaro and Lauro Badoer.[33] By the late sixteenth-century they were master generals, priors, *diffinitori* or vicars, and we find their signatures approving his expenditures throughout the *libri di spese*.[34]

These individuals continued to form a learned community of writers, linguists, poets, philosophers, theologians, musicians and preachers, evinced by their many published works—histories, rhymes, soliloquies, orations, songs, letters, poetry and theological writings—and through the testimony of their fellow Crocifero, Luigi Contarini, whose *Vago e dilettevole giardino* (1586) lists the achievements of accomplished Crociferi. Like his contemporaries, Marc'Antonio Boldù and Benedetto Leoni, Contarini provides a history of the Crociferi. These narratives, paired with the published version in the 1587 constitution, represent a concerted effort by leading Crociferi to promote their order, each consistently stressing several themes: their ancient origins, long list of illustrious supporters, societal contributions, and reformed status. Lowe isolates a similar impetus for several Cinquecento nuns' chronicles, particularly one produced at the Venetian convent of the Vergini.[35] These authors clearly saw the renewal within the order as a direct result of their return to discipline and their study of the liberal arts, guided by key individuals. In his *Rime spirituali* (1571), Contarini's nephew, Lauro Badoer, Bishop of Alba, singles out many of these same individuals in his dedication to Pietro Zen, Prior of Bologna:

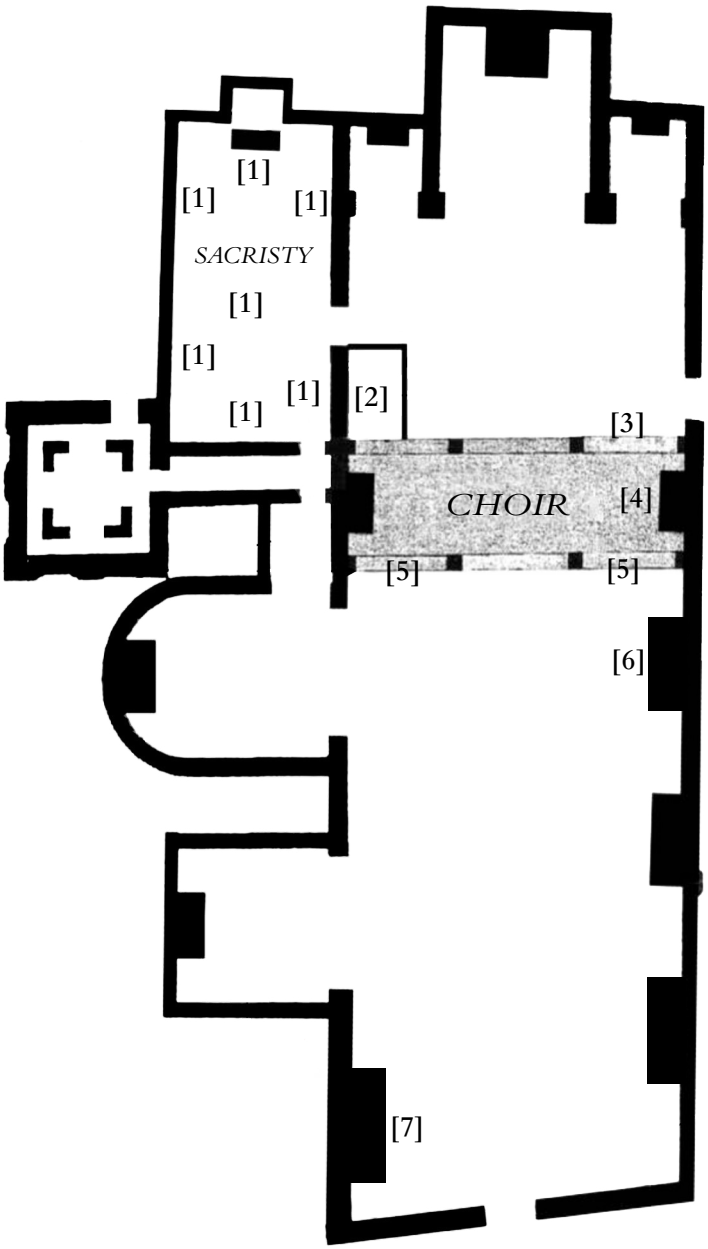
> "A Religion nostra Crucifera, che per l'antichità dell'origine avanza quasi tutte l'altre, si come per la pietà che ha usato di continuo, & usa dal principio della sua infantia, fina à questi nostri tempi, in albergar tanto cor-

tesemente, & piamente i poveri non cede à niuna: Tra tanti & tanti figliuoli dignissimi, che ha havuto ne i tempi antichi, e in questa età moderna che con affetto divoto, & con religion singolare l'an sempre mantenuta in quel colmo di perfettion in che nacque; Gli Arcangeli, gli Oliveri, i Gerolami, i Giuliani, i Giacomi Antonij, i Giulij, i Camilli, i Simoni... Et accio che col tempo questa religion nostra, non havesse in cosa alcuna ad invidiar l'altre, no si è contentata di agrandirla di fabriche materiali nel cospetto del mondo ma tutta accesa de santi, e virtuosi pensieri, è andata con la sua bontà et cortesia fabricando novi edifici de spiriti virtuosi, e nobili in servitio di Dio et di S. Chiesa, si che homai n'attende il mondo da si felice principij Teatro mirabile à rifguardanti, E di questa sua impresa degna di perpetua memoria, ne farà sempre certa, et indubitata fede il molto valor del Reverendo Padre maestro Benedetto Leoni; huomo (se dall'Eccelenza de scolari si puo argumentar quella de precettori) di molto merito, e di non poco loda: Il Reverendo Padre Ottaviano Semitecolo et molte altre sue creature, che et nel leggere, et nel Predicar cominciano, con non poco splendor di questa religione à farsi conoscere per diverse Citta d'Italia huomini valorosi, e singulari; per non parlare hora della musicha, nella quale pur si conosce da'professori di quest'arte à qual colmo di perfettione sia goto il Reverendo Padre Caterino Bianchi hora maestro di Capella di Sant'Alessandro di Bergamo".[36]

Here Badoer refers to notable Crociferi, many already mentioned, such as Arcangelo Cremaschi, Oliviero Ferro, Girolamo Confalonieri, his nephew Simone Rossi, Jacopo Antonio Boldù, the preacher Ottaviano Semitecolo and Giuliano Cirno, both of whom had been charged with revising the constitution.[37] Leoni echoes these sentiments in his 1598 history:

"Da indi in poi incominicio l'Ordine a guisa d'arida terra perfusa di ruggiada celeste a pullulare di nuovo and germogliare frondi, fiori and frutti di maravigliosa bonta: si riformarono i costumi, crebbe il culto di Dio, s'abbelli la disciplina, and l'osservanza claustrale, fiorirono li studi delle buon'arti and quelli specialmente della Sacra Teologia, li quali di molti anni a dietro erano quasi estinti and si continuarono per anni ventisette in circa sino a questi tempi con notabile frutto di essa Congregatione and con non mediocre servigio di Santa Chiesa con tanta felicita di acquisto and accrescimento cosi nel temporale, come nello spirituale, che fa stupire grandemente l'antichita".[38]

I would suggest that this very group of *frati* conceived of the decorative projects—in particular the narrative cy-



[1] Ceiling decoration, narrative cycle on the walls, and altarpiece, 1590–1620

[2] Organ decoration

[3] *Passover with Prophets*

[4] *St. Christopher*

[5] Choir decoration

[6] *Decollation of St. John the Baptist* (*Varoteri Altarpiece*)

[7] *Guardian Angel* (*Tiepolo Altarpiece*)

** Three additional paintings in

79. Floorplan of the Church of the Crociferi, with locations of the paintings by Palma il Giovane in the Crociferi Church (Allison Sherman)

cles—as visual parallels to their published histories, as celebrations of their post-*commenda* renewal, the Crociferi who guided it, and their core devotional interests, which tended increasingly toward the sacramental. What really unites the decoration throughout the church and oratory is Eucharistic iconography, although this has never been discussed. The portraits from life contained within Palma's paintings commemorate many of the aforementioned Crociferi brothers, lending further strength to this hypothesis. And who

better to charge with such paintings than an artist who had been a familiar of this monastery since childhood?

Palma il Giovane

The story of Jacopo Negretti can hardly be told without the mention of the Crociferi. According to Ridolfi, theirs was a connection rooted in Palma's boyhood, which nurtured his early career and produced some of the most impressive examples of his high style. Over the course of his long career, Palma converted the Crociferi complex into a monument to his talent; it was to Palma as San Rocco was to Tintoretto (fig. 79). The notoriously prolific artist produced over fifty individual paintings for the Crociferi, many of which, had they have survived, would have constituted the earliest traces of his artistic production.

Ridolfi recounts a charming anecdote about Palma's big break. At fifteen,[39] Palma was honing his artistic skills—inherited via his uncle, Palma Vecchio[40]—by drawing famous paintings of the city, including the newly installed Titian *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. Evidently Duke Guidobaldo della Rovere of Urbino frequented the church and was delighted by the young boy at work. While the duke was attending mass, Palma sketched his portrait and was brought before the duke by his courtiers. Having impressed the duke, who wished to have the portrait and the copy of the Titian, Palma was invited to join the household at Urbino. Thus, Palma left Venice in 1564, remained at Urbino until 1567, but then accompanied the duke to Rome, where he stayed until 1570.[41] In Rome the Crociferi at Santa Maria in Trivio commissioned a Christ for above the door to their cloister that was "tenuto in gran conto",[42] and, according to Ridolfi and Baglione, he executed a painting of angels adoring the Sacrament in the arch above the high altar.[43]

Knowing that Santa Maria in Trivio was under construction from 1573-75, Palma probably produced this work on his second Roman sojourn following a brief return to Venice. Ridolfi reports his visit to the Venetian Crociferi upon returning from his first trip:

> "[Palma] volle compartir loro le primizie del suo ingegno".[44]

Palma's eagerness to demonstrate his new skills to the brothers imparts a sense of the paternal role they played in his life and lends credence to Ridolfi's claim that

> "ai quali [Padri Crociferi] il Palma vise sempre divoto, poichè sino da fanciullo fu da quelli avuto in protezione".[45]

During this less than fruitful return to Venice, the Crociferi were his only patrons. He produced several frescoes in their dormitory: a *Madonna and Child adored by Angels* "in capo al loro dormi-

torio",[46] a *Helena and Cyriacus Discover the True Cross* and a *Padre Eterno* (*God the Father*)[47] in the stairs (all lost), but finding the Venetian scene too competitive, he returned to Rome. Given the timing, it is possible that it was a commission secured for him at the recently completed Roman church that warranted his second trip. In addition to his paintings for the Venetian and Roman Crociferi, it is known that he also produced a *Crucifixion* (lost) for the choir of the church at Conegliano and a *Flagellation* for the choir of the church at Padua,[48] and several of his pupils also found work with the Crociferi in Venice, Conegliano[49] and Rome.[50]

When Palma returned to Venice for good, the Crociferi remained his most consistent patrons, immediately commissioning a painting depicting St. Christopher for the altar dedicated to the saint beneath the choir, followed by substantial decorative projects in each of the following four decades.[51]

The impression of a deeply personal relationship between the brothers and the artist that emerges from Ridolfi's portrait is substantiated by several other telling clues that have never been sufficiently emphasised. A contemplative self-portrait of the aging artist as a Crocifero[52] (formerly Bardisian Collection, Venice, c. 1606) (fig. 70) hints at the kind of devotion to the order that Ridolfi describes; gratitude for their support, and perhaps also for the charity the Crociferi of Naples bestowed upon Palma's son, a wandering misfit who died under their care.[53] Finally, Rosand noted rather touching evidence that in the winter of his life, Palma would return to sketch the Titian where he got his big break.[54]

Once again, much depends on the validity of Ridolfi's testimony, whose reliability and connections to the Crociferi were previously outlined. His information regarding the later decoration is even more authoritative due to his proximity to the lifetime and circle of Palma. In Ridolfi's description of the choir of the Crociferi church, he relates a conversation between himself and the artist, suggesting that he enjoyed the benefit of a personal tour of the space. The validity of Ridolfi's biography is critical to what follows, as it forms a foundation for what we know about the *frati* involved in these decorative projects as patrons and subjects.

Chronology and Commemoration

Having updated their chancel, the Crociferi focused on keeping up with the trends of the later century: ceilings and cycles. Sansovino noted the explosion of *soffitti*:

> "there are [in Venice] countless buildings in which the ceilings of their rooms are finished with gold and other colours and decorated with paintings".[55]

80. Paintings by Palma il Giovane in the Oratorio dei Crociferi, 1583–1590

81. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1589, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice

Schulz calculated that about 73 costly ceilings were produced in the flurry of building throughout the century, noting that Palma was among the last exponents of the genre.[56]

The initial focus was on the oratory, probably because it had been refurbished in 1553. Work began almost immediately in 1583 on the gilded decorative ceiling that by 1589 contained Palma's large central *Assunta* surrounded by music-making angels and grotesque sibyls by Baldassare delle Grottesche (figs. 80–81, 162; see also

82. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Renier Zen, the Dogaressa, Crociferi, Ospizio Widows, Procuratori di San Marco and the Resurrected Christ*, 1584–1585, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice

83. (left to right) Portraits of Pasquale Cicogna, Vincenzo Morosini, Giuliano Cirno and Priamo Balbi (detail, fig. 82)

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PRIMO AGOSTO

page 287).[57] Palma's first commission was for the lost altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi* in May 1583.[58] Ridolfi observed the inclusion of a portrait of "Padre Liberale Marini, padre di quel tempo" as a magus, a suggestion corroborated by a document.[59]

In late March 1584 Balbi initiated the renovation of the monastery library with the permission of the Master General Agostino Graziano, and Venetian prior, Faustino Bondumier. In December 1584 Balbi commissioned the "telero Zen" for the oratory, depicting Doge Renier Zen and the Dogaressa with Piazza San Marco in the distance (figs. 82-83).[60] A group of Procuratori gather to the doge's left, among them Morosini, who is directly addressed by the Doge, who in turn gestures in recommendation of Crociferi and elderly women gathered to the right. The elderly Crocifero closest to the *dogaressa* is Giuliano Cirno,[61] and recommending the women, Priamo Balbi. A Christ in Glory hovers above, gesturing in benediction. Di Monte argued that in 1584 Morosini was considered the frontrunner in the next ducal election, and that the Crociferi were hedging their bets by assigning him a place of prominence in the first of what must have already been conceived as a cycle. The message is clear: divine sanction of the relationship between Zen, the Crociferi, and the women under their care. The Crociferi clearly hoped that Morosini would assume a similarly protective role. Cicogna, the procurator who would be doge, is beside Morosini, engaging the viewer with his gaze, roles that would be reversed.

85. Portrait of Priamo Balbi (detail, fig. 84)

84. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Priamo Balbi Administers the Host to Pasquale Cicogna and the Ospizio Widows (before his election)*, 1585-1588, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice

Cicogna's unexpected promotion probably changed the course of the programme, or inspired a larger one. Three paintings in his honour were commissioned in March 1585, and were installed sometime before 1588.[62] The first depicts Balbi administering the Host to Cicogna at the altar of the oratory days before his election (figs. 84-85), the second narrates the news of his election arriving at the

DVM SACRA PERAGVNTVR MYSTERIA, ADOLESCENS QVIDAM IMPROVISVS NVNTIAT PASCALI CICONIA D. MARCI PROC.
EVM PATRES IN LOCVM DEMORTVI DVCIS SVBSTITVISSE: CONFIRMATVRQ. MAGNI SCRIBÆ, AC DVORVM A SECRETIS
ADVENTV SCEPTRVM FERENTIVM. XVIII. AVGVSTI. M.D.LXXXV.

87. (left to right) Portraits of Agostino Graziano (?), Lauro Badoer, Vincenzo Morosini, Priamo Balbi (detail, see figs. 26, 170)

high altar of the church (fig. 86), and the third captures the arrival of his ducal procession at the entrance to the monastery on the feast day of the Assumption (figs. 26, 87). In each Cicogna is surrounded by Crociferi and the *ospizio* widows, connecting them to the doge previous to, during and after his election. In the third canvas Morosini now plays a secondary role from behind the doge, engaging the viewer with his gaze, while Cicogna's focus is on the Crociferi who welcome him, Balbi among them. Ridolfi's assertion that Palma included a portrait of Lauro Badoer in the guise of the papal nuncio to Cicogna's left is entirely plausible, given that he was amongst the hierarchy in 1585-1586, and prior in 1587 and 1588. Agostino Graziano was prior of the monastery during the time these works were produced, so in keeping with the trend, his portrait is probably that of the bearded figure in liturgical robes standing in the door. Cicogna cannot have been unhappy with this tribute, a rarity in a city that frowned upon glorification of the individual, particularly in the propagandistic visual form. However in the context of a small chapel used exclusively by cloistered widows, the purpose of the cycle was not so much to publicly

86. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pasquale Cicogna Receives Word of his Election as Doge at the High Altar of the Crociferi Church*, c. 1585-1588, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice

88. (clockwise from top) Portraits of an unidentified Crocifero, Giuliano Cirno, Benedetto Leoni, Alvise (Luigi) Contarini (detail, fig. 19)

glorify Cicogna as to celebrate the illustrious patronage the Crociferi attracted. In this sense it was pendant to the Zen *telero* (figs. 82–83); the protection of these two doges lent the Crociferi prestige and inserted them into the narrative of Venetian history. The next paintings expounded on this theme of advocacy, and included their connection to two popes.

These papal images were installed by June of 1590.[63] The first depicted Cletus's foundation of the order, and the second Paul IV issuing a *breve* to Ambassador Giustinian with the Crociferi church in the distance (figs. 78, 88). This *breve* of 1556 secured autonomy for the Crociferi, exempting the monastery from various external supervisory and disciplinary measures.[64] These pictures also contained monastic portraits. In the Cletus painting Balbi kneels in the lower right corner. Ridolfi identifies Benedetto Leoni, au-

89. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Decollation of St. John the Baptist* (*Varoteri Altarpiece*), c. 1593–1595, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

thor of the Crociferi history, and Luigi Contarini as the two figures kneeling in the lower left of the Paul IV painting:

> "Ed in quest'azione intervengono il padre Benedetto Leoni, fu generale di quella Congregazione e vescovo d'Arcadia, ed il padre Contarino autore del Giardino istorico, tratti dal naturale".[65]

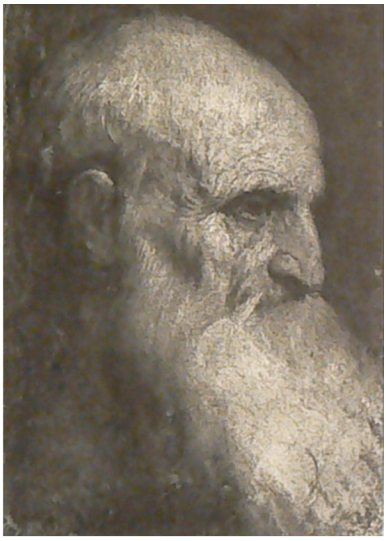
Two further Crociferi can be identified based on their appearance in the *Decollation of the Baptist* on the *varoteri* altar in the church (fig. 89). Ridolfi identified the elderly Giuliano Cirno in the guise of St. Lanfranc at the left of the altarpiece, and he appears almost identically in the Paul IV painting. A small portrait in Milan identical to the likeness of Cirno in the *Decollation* suggests that small head studies were made for the purpose of inserting Crociferi into multiple paintings (figs. 90-91).[66] Cirno's appearance in three paintings speaks to his ongoing role as Venetian prior and Master General of the order, but may also point to his longstanding involvement in the decorative projects as one of the last remaining Crociferi responsible for the first decorative project. Ridolfi claimed that Crocifero Simon Rossi appeared in the *Decollation* as St. Liberius on the right.[67] Over the shoulder of the executioner is another familiar face from the Paul IV painting; the same figure appears against the façade of the church.

The concentration of monastic portraits in these paintings already merits comment, even without knowing the full extent to which it was the case. It seems likely that others still were represented, now unidentifiable amongst the anonymous faces. Even without identifying the full cast of characters, the message of their inclusion is clear: they are commemorated, along with their illustrious protectors, for their contributions to the renewal and reform of the monastery and order. The latter is particularly true of Balbi's case; he appears three times in the decoration he coordinated. Leadership took on new importance in the wake of the *commenda*, which was enforced because of corrupt administration and lack of guidance within the order. The revised Crociferi constitution, which had been initiated and formulated by the same individuals in power during this project of redecoration (Francesco Fossano, Cirno, Contarini, Leoni and Semitecolo), stipulated that each prior meet monthly with the four to six of the "oldest and wisest" *frati* to discuss discipline. The presence of Contarini and Leoni in the image of Paul IV,[68] an event that affirmed the reformed status of the Venetian monastery, speaks to the centrality of these individuals in the spiritual and physical *renovatio*. Both committed to print their passion for the ancient history, modern reform and the ongoing legitimacy of the order. Leoni articulates the purpose of these documents in his 1591 *Memoriale per la regolare osservanza della congregatione de' Crociferi*:

> "con l'opera delle stampe uscire tante

90. (top, right and left, respectively) Portraits of an unidentified Crocifero, Simone Rossi (perhaps Girolamo Rossi) and Giuliano Cirno (detail, fig. 89)

91. (left to right) Portraits of Giuliano Cirno (details, figs. 88-90) and a *Portrait Study*, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan



94. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Sacristy decoration, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

copie in luce, che non vi sia alcuno di voi, nè vecchio, nè giovane, nè superiore, nè suddito, che non ne habbia un'essempio, à forma di cui, quasi in lucido specchio possa ciascuno di noi riformare secondo l'occorrenza l'huomo interiore, & ridurlo à quella vera spirituale bellezza".[69]

92-93. (opposite) Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Flagellation* and *Transport of the Body of Christ*, 1590-1591, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice

The narrative cycle conceived by these same Crociferi served an identical function: to instruct and inspire present and future generations of Crociferi and widows. The Crociferi and the women depicted become timeless interlocutors, lending realism and legitimacy to the events depict-

ed, providing exemplars from a familiar context for future spectators. The tender, even sentimental precision Palma devoted to the portraits reflects the unique nature of this private/civic/monastic project, and the special relationship he shared with his greatest patrons.

The Sacristy

The themes of history, reform and commemoration continued in the sacristy decoration, initiated in 1589 (fig. 94). About a year before the two final paintings for the oratory were delivered in 1590–1591—Palma's *Flagellation* and *Transport of the Body of Christ*—work on the sacristy ceiling had begun (figs. 92–93).[70] Its

95. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Gathering of the Manna*, 1590, Sacristy Ceiling, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

96–97. (opposite above) Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Elijah Fed by an Angel in the Desert*; and (below) *David and Ahimelech*, 1590, Sacristy Ceiling, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

gilded wooden compartments made by Martino *marangon* were finished in 1590 and Palma's ceiling cycle was installed.[71] Evangelists and Doctors of the Church in *chiaroscuro* were arranged around two large rectangular panels depicting *Elijah Fed by an Angel, David and Ahimelech* and a centrally placed *tondo* of the *Gathering of the Manna* (figs. 95-97).[72] A *Raising of the Bronze Serpent* was added in 1592 to hang "al capo della sagrestia", above a *banco* used to prepare for the mass (fig. 98).[73] The remaining wall space was lined with a historical narrative cycle that hung above walnut benches: *Helena and Cyriacus Discover the True Cross* (fig.

98. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Raising of the Bronze Serpent*, 1592, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

99. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Helena and Cyriacus Discover the True Cross*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

100. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Emperor Heraclius Returns the Cross to Jerusalem*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

101. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pope Cletus Institutes the Crociferi and Cyriacus Reconfirms the Crociferi*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice (see also figs. 12–13)

99), *The Emperor Heraclius Returns the Cross to Jerusalem* (fig. 100), *Pope Cletus Institutes the Crociferi and Cyriacus Reconfirms the Crociferi* (fig. 101), and *Pope Alexander III Assigns the Crociferi Their Rule and Pope Pius II Assigns the Crociferi their Reformed Habit* (fig. 102).[74] No mention of the history cycle or the altarpiece is made in Balbi's account books, meaning they could have been completed any time after about 1596–97. Mason Rinaldi dates the narrative cycle to 1620–25 based on stylistic evidence, and the inclusion of a self-portrait of an older Palma in the Heraclius painting.[75] The sacristy altarpiece, a *Madonna and Child in Glory with St. Cletus, St. Catherine, St. Lucy, St. Anthony Abbots* also dates to this period

102. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pope Alexander III Assigns the Crociferi Their Rule and Pope Pius II Assigns the Crociferi their Reformed Habit*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice (see also fig. 15, 17)

(fig. 103).[76] They are less accomplished and inventive than Palma's earlier work for the Crociferi, perhaps reflective of the artist's decline, however a few other factors corroborate the date. Few of the monastic portraits in the sacristy narrative cycle match those shown in the oratory cycle, suggesting the turnover that would have occurred in the hierarchy over a number of decades. Further, in 1599 Benedetto Leoni published his Crociferi history, a tool undoubtedly used in formulating the cycle, and probably the impetus for the creation of a pictorial historical narrative. The events selected stress the centrality of devotion to the cross and to its foundation saints, Cletus, Cyriacus and Helena. Observance of their feasts was amongst seven points emphasised by Leoni in his 1591 *Memoriale*, and depictions of these saints bracketed the narrative scenes in the corners of the sacristy, anchoring the history literally and figuratively as pillars of the order (fig. 104). As in the oratory, the advocacy of illustrious individuals is emphasised, with new emphasis on popes. The Crociferi may well have chosen to make a statement about their position on papal authority, something that was called into question by the Protestant challenge.

Attention shifted next to the nave. By September 1590 at the latest, the Crociferi knew Cicogna planned to be buried at the church. According to his *Ceremoniale* and the oratory painting depicting his visit, the church had been added to the itinerary of ducal processions. The clerical vestments with Cicogna arms in their possession in 1656 also suggest that

103. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Madonna and Child in Glory with St. Cletus, St. Catherine, St. Lucy, St. Anthony Abbot* (sacristy altarpiece), c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

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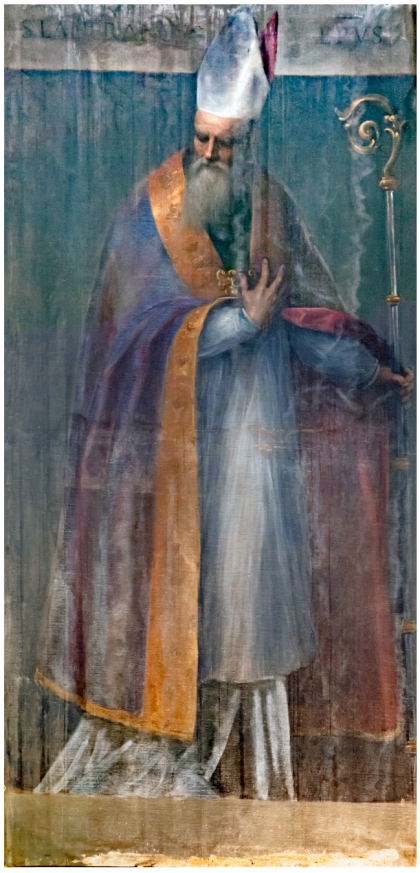


special fuss was made when the doge visited. These circumstances may have provided an impetus for the renovation of the choir, organ, and several side altars. The 1581 apostolic visit was also a catalyst for structural and decorative changes in many churches, although Venetians viewed the visit as an imposition and were in no rush to carry out the suggestions made by the pope's representatives.[77] At a distance of a decade, some of the changes may have seemed necessary to remain in line with liturgical and doctrinal orthodoxy. The *commenda* years not yet a distant memory, the Crociferi must still have been aware of keeping up appearances.

105. Raphael, *Vision of Ezekiel*, c. 1518, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence

The Organ

By the early 1590's the choir and organ would have been a century old and in need of updating. A vote taken by the *capitolo* in April 1594 names Balbi the "perfettuar l'opera del coro", which had already begun in March with work on the *banchi* and "cassa del organo".[78] Martino *marangon*, who worked on all previous projects, was enlisted to "desfar et far di novo il choro, tutto di noghera, et il pavimento di larese (larch)" and Palma was once again hired to provide the decoration.[79]

104. (left, clockwise) Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *St. Cyriacus*, *St. Lanfranc*, *St. Cletus* and *St. Helena*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

Between April and June of 1594 Martino affixed "il quadro del mezzo d'organo di sotto in su", three other paintings on the front of the organ, and two angels beneath the organ loft. The purchase of twenty pieces of "legne longhe" to be sent to Palma for the organ paintings suggests that these lost works were on panel. Payments to transport the works from Palma's studio to the church indicate that they were *in situ* by June 1594.[80]

The painting described in Balbi's account book as *di sotto in sù* was probably the one Stringa and Martinioni described as "una delle Visioni d'Ezechiele". The *di sotto in su* treatment suggests an ascen-

sion, perhaps something akin to Raphael's *Vision of Ezekiel* (fig. 105), or perhaps a representation of the vision in which Ezekiel was carried to a valley of bones that became alive once more. Among the prophet's multiple visions, a few seem more probable on formal and iconographic grounds. The latter, in its allusions to the Resurrection, would have complemented the Christological scenes on the front of the organ, and the Passion subjects planned for the choir. We must also consider the location of the decoration above the altar of the Conception. Ezekiel's vision of the closed gate (Ezekiel 44:2-3), or that of a human likeness on the sapphire throne (Ezekiel 1:26)—both prophecies of the Immaculate Virgin and the Incarnation of Christ—would have been appropriate in this context.

The other three organ paintings mentioned in the expense book refer to the *Madonna Adored by Angels*, flanked by the *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* and *The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem* (all lost) described by Stringa and Martinioni as above the sacristy door. Since this is where the organ loft was suspended, we can assume that these three paintings were positioned on the front of the *cassa*.[81] In January 1595 Palma was paid an instalment, as was Giacomo Rizzardini for his contributions "per adornar l'organo". This included "pitture in chiaroscuro" and gilding of the organ, "come sedie".[82] The identity of Rizzardini remains unknown, however in later entries Balbi refers to him as "pictor". He was probably a minor independent, or perhaps even a member of the Palma shop to whom the less arduous task of monochromatic work was delegated. These *chiaroscuri* may be connected to the "diverse historiette della scrittura" recorded on the inside of the organ loft. I suspect that the two angels with trumpets that now flank the Palma altarpiece in the sacristy were at one time on the organ, as they do not, in dimensions or subject matter, correspond to the *sacra coversazione* (figs. 106-107).[83] They may even be the two unidentified *quadri* by Palma installed beneath the organ as the finishing touches were applied in October 1595.[84]

106-107. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Angels Playing Trumpets*, possibly 1592-1593, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

The organ case, with its carved and gilded ornamentation, elaborated on the front and underside with painted narratives, would not have been unlike those still *in situ* at the church of the Carmini, decorated by Andrea Schiavone and Marco Vicentino a few decades before, or that of Santa Maria del Giglio, built in 1548, but decorated over the course of the next century with shutters by Tintoretto and small narrative panels by Zanchi.[85] We must take Martinelli's word for the fact that the shutters were of a "maniera antichissima".[86] The *portelle* may have dated to the period in which the instrument itself was built (late fifteenth century), and thus may have even been the work of Cima or Mansueti, who had done so much else for the church. The 1656 inventory lists "due quadri lunghi, uno dell'Annuntiata, l'atro dell'Angolo Gabriel sopra tella" in the chapel of the silk-weavers.[87] It is not impossible that these two paintings were actually the organ shutters, removed from the instrument and placed at some point in the nearby chapel. The Annunciation was the most popular subject for organ shutters in Venice, and the Angel Gabriel was often depicted on one shutter, facing the Virgin on the other, as in the Giovanni Bellini Miracoli shutters (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice).[88]

The Choir

As the organ renovation drew to a close in the spring of 1595, work on the choir had been underway for about a year. It is clear from the expenses that the choir was not rebuilt, but rather refurbished with new decoration and seating for the *frati*, perhaps necessitated by changing practices in the liturgical music performed by the brothers. The building of new walnut *banchi* for the choir was initiated in April 1594, and throughout June and July, Priamo bought *tavole di noghera* from the "botteghe à s. zuane paulo".[89] Balbi made contemporaneous payments for *terlise* (a coarse fabric often used as a support for painting, but also for monastic habits[90]) to be sent to Palma for three paintings, presumably those recorded on the face of the choir: *Road to Calvary*, *Crucifixion/Resurrection* and *Descent into Limbo*.[91] Work on the foundation and pavement of the choir in July and August 1594 was registered with payments made for substantial amounts of larch and fir, less expensive woods more appropriate to such a function.[92] A new "pilella d'acqua santa" of marble or stone, was commissioned from "Nicolo tagliapiedo", and was later gilded and placed at the choir door.[93] In October and November 1594 Priamo paid for the production and installation of several "colone del marmoro" for beneath the choir and the altars it sheltered, and an *inginochiar* to face the altar.[94] The bulk of the work on the structure must have been complete by

108. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Crucifixion*, c. 1595, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna

this time, as remaining payments were for minor hardware, turquoise curtains for the frame, and for gilding of the "banchi dei gioveni e garzoni", "banchetto delli putti", and the "puzar", or back support of the *sacerdoti*.[95] These entries demonstrate that the seating in the choir was specifically designed and arranged for various groups within the monastic hierarchy. Given what we know about the performance of polyphonic music at the church, this practice of division may have been related to the way music was performed.[96]

The expenses for November 1594–April 1595 give us some idea of the decorative arrangement. The first of the three paintings for the face of the choir was mounted in April 1595. A payment for *azzurro* for "l'ultimo quadro messo da dretto il choro" was made in November, the month in which the painting was delivered, along with "li doi profesi et le 4 cantinelle indorati", suggesting it was flanked by two prophets with gilded panels separating the paintings.[97] Eventually there is mention of both prophets *and* sibyls on the choir, which explains payments made to Rizzardini in November of 1594 for "chiaro è scuro per le parti del choro verso al porta della chiesa come verso l'altra".[98] While Palma was paid for two prophets, no payment to him was ever recorded for the sibyls on the choir referred to in October of 1595, when Martino *marangon* was engaged to produce four angels to be placed above the "profetti e sibille".[99] The sibyls may

109. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Descent into Limbo*, 1584, Church of Santa Maria Annunziata, Quero (BL) (on loan from Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice)

therefore have been the work of Rizzardini, and may be the *chiaroscuri* sibyls Boschini recorded in the refectory in 1664.

In Ridolfi's account of the works *in situ*, the reader is instructed to raise their gaze to the face of the choir to find the three "sacre istorie", suggesting that they were hung above the viewer's head. His descriptions are the most detailed we have of these works, lost sometime after Boschini recorded them in the refectory in 1664.[100] The first was the *Road to Calvary*, in which Ridolfi says Christ was accompanied by "molti ministri", possibly another opportunity for monastic portraiture. Ridolfi noted the Virgin, who fell into the arms of the three Marys, and Veronica who gives over the veil. In the middle position was the "Redentore crocefisso" with "molte figure applicate in diversi ufficii, e corpi di morti risorgenti dai sepolcri". This description points toward a merging of the iconography of a *Crucifixion* and *Resurrection*, and calls to mind the sort of multiplicity of detail found in Tintoretto's important precedent at the Scuole Grande di San Rocco. Mason Rinaldi has astutely pointed out a possible connection between the lost Crociferi *Crucifixion* and a painting of unknown provenance in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (fig. 108). It fits Ridolfi's description in its inclusion of bodies emerging from the ground into the scene of the Crucifixion[101], how-

ever Palma frequently repeated pictorial devices in his paintings. While the size of the Bologna picture (214 × 393 cm) does not negate the possibility that this is the painting in question, neither does it strengthen the argument for it. If we assume that the other two choir paintings were of analogous size, or even slightly smaller, the width of the church (approximately 17 m), could not have accommodated all three paintings and the prophets, sibyls and *cantinelle*.

The third painting depicted *Christ the Redeemer drawing the holy fathers from Limbo*, and, according to Ridolfi, the figure of Christ appeared to do so with such violence that he joked of it to Palma, who responded that it was no laughing matter because God could do such things if he wished.[102] The painting must have been a rough approximation of Palma's celebrated work of the same subject for the oratory of San Nicolò della Lattuga of a few years before, which also included donor portraits (fig. 109).[103] The choice of the *Descent into Limbo* as pendant to a Crucifixion or Resurrection was an increasingly popular combination during the last half of the century, as it drew attention to the threat of purgatory, the existence of which had come under scrutiny by Protestants.[104]

This decorative programme at San Nicolò della Lattuga, executed for the most part by the Veronese shop, may provide us with some idea of which prophets and sibyls might have flanked the three Crociferi choir paintings. Analogous to the Crociferi choir in its iconography, the San Nicolò decoration also featured *chiaroscuro* sibyls and prophets to complement Passion subjects. Veronese painted the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, while Palma produced two sibyls (lost). The four sibyls most closely identified with the Passion were the Hellespontic, Delphic, Egyptian and Tiburtine sibyls.[105] Any of these prophets or sibyls would have sufficed as complements to the choir paintings. Isaiah would have been particularly suited to flank the *Road to Calvary* and *Crucifixion*: ("Thus the lamb is led to the slaughter," Isaiah 53:7), while two other prophets, Moses and Elijah, might have been better suited to the *Crucifixion* and *Limbo* paintings, as they were both assumed by God and were seen in conversation with Jesus during the Transfiguration, discussing the imminent Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension.

Side Altars

What remained to be refurbished were several side altars, a few of which will be revisited in following chapters. I will touch briefly on them here for the purposes of the argument for monastic influence over art patronage. Palma was enlisted at some point to replace Cima's

110. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Decollation of St. John the Baptist* (*Varoteri Altarpiece*), c. 1593–1595, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

furrier's guild altarpiece with an updated *pala* depicting the *Decollation of the Baptist* (fig. 110). The apostolic visitors had made few recommendations for change in 1581, but among them was the suggestion to move the altar of Lanfranc from its location near the sacristy.[106] The renovation of the choir probably presented the ideal moment to relocate it to the opposite side of the church between the choir and the altar of St. Lawrence. The dedication of the altar also shifted to St. John the Baptist, something that is only partially explained by the devotional interests of the guild, and must also be considered in the context of what Mason Rinaldi recognized as an "infusione ornata dall'immagine del Battista, per timore di eventuali aspirazioni anabattiste".[107] The *varoteri* were dedicated to the Visitation, thus the rededication to John the Baptist must have been chosen by the Crociferi, and it is hard to imagine that they were not also responsible for the suggestion of the dramatic scene of the saint's martyrdom. By the end of the century all three of the altars on the right side of the nave would be decorated with graphic martyrdoms. I would suggest an earlier date for the Palma altarpiece (c. 1593-1595) on the grounds that decoration shifted with the altar during the work on the choir in 1594-1595.[108] The work is stylistically compatible with this stage in Palma's career, and an earlier date would also explain why several of the monastic portraits included in the altarpiece—those of Cirno and the bearded man over the shoulder of the executioner—match those in the decoration of the oratory from around 1596-1597.[109] The inclusion of these portraits may be indicative of the involvement of these *frati* in the solicitation and/or concept for the altarpiece. The reader will recall that the *varoteri* were responsible for the provision of one the chancel *laterali*. The *botteri*, who furnished the pendant, may also to have been drawn into the second phase of redecoration. A lost image by Palma of the *Feast of Passover* flanked by two prophets in *chiaroscuro* was recorded on the side of the choir facing the upper nave before 1684 when Martinelli noted its removal to the nearby *botteri albergo*.[110] Balbi's payments to Rizzardini for *chiaroscuri* for the choir refer to decoration for "le parti del choro verso al porta della chiesa *come verso l'altra*". This suggests that both sides of the choir were similarly decorated, thus Balbi was probably referring to the image by Palma, to which Rizzardini contributed flanking prophets. Perhaps more important than the logistics of authorship and dating this clarifies,[111] is the indication that the *botteri* were responsible for the commission. The paintings cannot have ended up in their possession without claim to ownership. They had no altar of their own, however in 1550 they arranged an accord with prior Cirno and Confalonieri to purchase two *arche* for

111. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Guardian Angel* (*Tiepolo Altarpiece*), after 1617, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice (see also fig. 160)

membership burial "d'avanti il Coro",[112] which may explain the location of the image. Through its reference to Christ as the paschal lamb, the subject of the Passover is linked to the guild's dedication to the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, an event that also foreshadowed the sacrifice of Christ. As such, the image satisfied the guild's devotional interests and conformed to the Eucharistic theme of the choir decoration.

At some point during the final decade of the century, the Crociferi added two new altars to the immediate left and right of the entrance to the church. The altar to the left was dedicated to St. Catherine and the altar to the right was dedicated to the Guardian Angel, which Ridolfi claimed was erected by Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo (figs. 111, 160). They

were probably additions of the early seventeenth century, considering Tiepolo became patriarch in 1617, although Antonio Vassilacchi, called "Aliense" (1556-1629), who decorated the altar of St. Catherine was active in the city as early as 1584.[113] His pupil Ridolfi provided a brief description of the *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* (lost):[114]

> "Nei Padri Crociferi dipinse santa Caterina al martirio della ruota; ma egli non potè divisar quell'azione a voglia sua, per alcuni ritratti, che vi fece a petizione del padrone, e perche gli convenne ancora variar la figura della santa a soddisfazione di Padri".

The use of the generic "padrone" leaves us wanting with regard to the identity of the patron of this work. The 1656 inventory does not specify patronage rights to the altar, as it does in every other case, suggesting that the Crociferi alone were responsible for the altar. Catherine, a hugely revered martyr saint; in Venice she was unofficially considered a patron saint of the Republic, probably because of her ties, and theirs, to the East. She was associated with charity, care for the sick and contemplation, and by the 1581 count of altar dedications by the apostolic visitors, she ranked sixth with 22 altars.[115] In light of the earlier discussion of the potential influence of Aretino's religious writings, it is worthy of note that the author also penned an extremely popular life of St. Catherine (*Vita di S. Caterina Vergine, e Martire*, 1538) that included an astonishingly graphic 147-page description of the saint's martyrdom that could easily have provided fodder for the painting. The witness or spectator to the saint's demise plays an important role in Aretino's narrative, providing a variety of reactions, something Aliense may have translated in visual terms using the portraits the Crociferi insisted upon. Ridolfi's assertion that Aliense was forced to depart from his vision to accommodate the *frati* conforms to what has been established regarding their obvious preference for the inclusion of monastic portraits and once again suggests their discerning taste as experienced patrons.

The Eucharist, Martyrdoms and Mary: A Post-Tridentine Decorative Programme

As Schulz stressed in his study of Venetian ceiling painting, it is important not to "categorize the parts of larger decorative systems as if they were independent works of art".[116] The most interesting finding to emerge out of what began as a largely reconstructive project has been the clear indication of a carefully coordinated decorative system. This system connects the decoration that took place over the course of the cinquecento, not only in the church, but also the oratory, which has generally been interpreted in isolation form the church on which it was dependent. A physical reconstruction of

the church has facilitated a collective interpretation of these works.

If the global picture is considered, the decoration of the church by about 1610 addressed three themes: saintly martyrdom, the centrality of the Eucharist, and the singularity of the Virgin Mary. A viewer entering the church would have passed the three scenes of martyrdom on the altars lining the right side of the nave: the Aliense St. Catherine, followed by the dark and fiery demise of Titian's St. Lawrence, then Palma's bloody, yet contemplative *Decollation of John the Baptist*. Humfrey, Cocke and Meilman have done much to clarify the development and function of images of martyrdom in relation to the decrees of the Council of Trent and Counter-Reformation belief regarding saintly intercession and sacrifice.[117] The Council of Trent made its only remarks on the use of visual art in its final decrees in December of 1563, reiterating Gregory the Great's notion that "images are the books of the ignorant", adding that through paintings and other representations "people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of the faith".[118] Titian's *Death of St. Peter Martyr* of 1527 represented a major shift in the development of the narrative altarpiece tied to an increasing demand for more dramatic and psychologically engaging depictions of saints that would elicit strong emotion in the viewer, provide them with exemplars, and communicate the parallel between Christ's Passion (as enacted in the mass on the altar below) and the self-sacrifice of the martyr. The viewer would have understood the connection between the bodily death of the saint and that of Christ, and between their sacrifice and the reward of resurrection, something they too could achieve through participation in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Having progressed past these three altarpieces in the Crociferi nave, the viewer's gaze would have been pulled up toward the *tramezzo* decoration. Its message of Christ's suffering (*Road to Calvary*), sacrifice (*Crucifixion*) and ultimately the promise of new life (*Descent into Limbo*) would have reinforced these same ideas. Even if the partition of the choir prevented a complete view of the sanctuary and its own exuberant decoration—a concern that saw the removal of choirs down the peninsula—what was occurring in the chancel and its centrality to the faith was referenced for the laity through the side altarpieces and choir decoration. This decoration would have provided moving visual complement to the preaching that we know took place in the church, another means by which the populace was educated in the central tenets of the faith.[119] Therefore, we can envision how movement through the nave of the church, from entry to chancel, was intended to instruct the viewer in the central Counter-Reformation ideologies.

The Eucharist

This could also be said of spaces that were not open to the laity, such as the oratory, sacristy and refectory, where

the decoration placed especially strong emphasis on sacramental themes. Cope and Hills have highlighted the importance of Eucharistic devotion in Venice and the emergence of the Scuole della Santissimo Sacramento at almost every parish church in the city.[120] Concern for the proper preservation of the sacrament increased in 1543 when the reformer Matteo Giberti, bishop of Verona, set a precedent for its exclusive reservation on the high altar. By 1581 it was a top priority for the apostolic visitors, who made note of how the Host was kept in each church.[121] The first page of Leoni's guide to the revised Crociferi constitution stresses that proper care for the sacrament was among the seven principal responsibilities of their monasteries.[122] At parish churches lay confraternities tended to the sacrament and its altar, a role that often included commissioning works of art. Mason Rinaldi correctly identifies Palma as the heir to the tradition previously dominated by Tintoretto, becoming an innovator of Eucharistic iconography in his own right, yet she does not discuss the sacramental themes that connect his projects at the Crociferi church.

Sacramental programmes of Passion subjects and typologies from the Old and New Testament became a popular means of emphasizing central dogmas, particularly those on which Protestantism had cast doubt, such as Transubstantiation, the actual enactment of the Passion in the mass, and communion under one species (the bread).[123] Subjects once preferred for their narrative quality, such as the Last Supper and the Crucifixion, increasingly gave way to subjects that better conveyed the miraculous and mysterious nature of the Passion and the Eucharist.

The Crociferi adhered to these themes in the selection of subjects in the oratory, sacristy and on the choir, particularly after about 1590, when a concerted effort to incorporate Eucharistic imagery was initiated. The final additions to the decoration of the oratory, the *Flagellation* and the *Transport of the Body of Christ* (figs. 92–93), emphasised the suffering of Christ. The latter in particular evoked the suffering of the Virgin and Christ's followers in the wake of his bodily death, and in this respect was akin to the popular subjects of the *Pietà* or *Ecce Homo*, both meant to arouse empathetic emotion from the spectator. In the post-Tridentine Catholic tradition, the Virgin's participation in the Passion, above all after the death of her son, made her suffering implicit in the Eucharist.[124] According to Ridolfi, her role was also emphasised on the choir in the *Road to Calvary* and *Crucifixion*, and according to the 1656 inventory of the church, the Zen chapel of the Cross was decorated with a wooden *Pietà*.[125]

The sacristy ceiling presented an opportunity to create another sacramental cycle, one that focused on Old Testament typologies of the consecration, adoration, distribution and salvation through the bread of the Eucharist. The Protes-

112. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Gathering of the Manna*, 1590, Sacristy Ceiling, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

tant belief that the faithful had to receive communion under *both* species or kinds—both the bread and wine—was related to their denial of the Real Presence of Christ in the mass, and their opposition to Catholic practice of offering only the bread to the laity during communion. The legitimacy of this practice was reaffirmed at the Council of Trent, resulting in a proliferation of New and Old Testament imagery that related to the centrality of bread, its miraculous provision and consumption. This explains the subjects chosen for the sacristy ceiling, and the inclusion of the Feast of Passover on the choir.[126] It is worth reminding the reader that the Crociferi had already furnished their refectory with a painting of the relatively unusual subject of the Wedding at Cana, to which they eventually added the image of *Belshazzar's Feast* by Fialetti. Perhaps by 1590 the Crociferi felt that the species of wine had been sufficiently celebrated in existing decoration, and moved on to celebrate the bread.

Palma was no stranger to sacramental programmes; he was responsible for, or contributed to Eucharistic cycles at San Nicolò della Lattuga, San Moisè, San Bartolomeo, and most notably, San Giacomo dell'Orio.[127] This church contained three spaces devoted to the Eucharist to which Palma contributed sacramental decoration, including a cycle in the sacristy (1580–1581) that closely resembled and may have inspired the Crociferi ceiling.[128] The central subject on the ceiling, the *Gathering of the Manna* (fig. 112), was a typology for the Real Presence of Christ in the mass and was fa-

113. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Elijah Fed by an Angel in the Desert*, 1590, Sacristy Ceiling, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

voured by the Council of Trent because Christ made explicit reference to it:

> "I am the bread of life your fathers did eat manna in the desert: and are dead. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven: if any man eat of it he may not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of the bread, he shall live forever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world". (John 6:48-52)

It communicated the miraculous nature of the bread and the importance of its reception as a means to salvation.[129] The flanking scenes of *Elijah Fed by the Angel* and *David and Ahimelech* (figs. 113-114) complement the central image by referencing the miraculous provision of bread, and the reception of the spiritual nourishment of the sacrament.[130] Palma has enriched this message through his arrangement of both compositions. Elijah leans back as if having a vision, while the angel descends from above. The more unusual subject of *David Receiving the Consecrated Bread from Ahimelech* appeared more frequently in cycles during the late sixteenth century because of its emphasis on the role of the priest in the distribution of the sacrament.[131] Palma has emphasised this in this image by placing Abimilech at the top of a flight of stairs. David kneels in adoration as he

114. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *David and Ahimelech*, 1590, Sacristy Ceiling, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

mounts the stairs to accept the only nourishment the priest had to offer: the holy bread. In this position David echoes the posture of a typical participant who would approach the altar to receive communion, and therefore salvation from a Crocifero. While vessels are included in both the David and Elijah paintings—presumably in reference to the wine—they are peripheral in comparison to the centrally placed bread. The Doctors of the Church and Evangelists in the surrounding compartments functioned as witnesses to the typological narratives that they were responsible for interpreting.

The *Raising of the Bronze Serpent* (fig. 115) brought a fitting conclusion to the cycle. This was among the most common Old Testament subjects during this period because Christ made an analogy between the event and his Crucifixion to assert his presence in the Host through its elevation during mass:

> "And Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up". (John 3:14)

In the context of a Eucharistic cycle, this painting demonstrated the curative reward of participation in the mass, and the risks of rejection of the sacrament.[132] The significance of this typology was explained in some of the most influential

115. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Raising of the Bronze Serpent*, 1592, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

theological treatises of the time, such as Roberto Bellarmino's *Controversia Generalis* of 1588 and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, both of which were in the Crociferi library.[133] Palma emphasises the analogy between the bronze serpent and the cross by twining the snake around a cross-like staff. The inclusion of monastic portraits—one of which is Priamo Balbi—references the priestly role in the delivery of the sacrament (fig. 116).

This image assumes a connective role in linking the imagery on the ceiling to the cycle on the walls. The cross connects the two projects, which contrary to the assertion of Mason Rinaldi, were in fact related conceptually, just not chronologically. The centrality of the True Cross to Crociferi devotion, embedded in their foundation story, is one of the predominant themes of the historical cycle. The Crociferi may have felt their connection to the primary instrument of Christ's Passion warranted extraordinary devotion to the Eucharist. The insertion of monastic portraits into both the ceiling and historical cycles communicates a great deal about the audience. While the sacramental subjects on the choir were typical of those selected to inform and inspire the laity, those chosen for the sacristy were far more complicated, cerebral and rich in their iconographic correlations. This was appropriate considering the highly intellectual monastic spectators the paintings addressed, many theologians themselves. In the context of the space in which the vestments and implements of the mass were kept, in which the Crociferi met and prepared to go into the sanctuary, the ceiling served as reminder of their role in delivering the sacrament, and ultimately salvation, to *all*

116. Portrait of Priamo Balbi (detail, see fig. 115)

VT PRÆSENTEM VIRVM AMPLISS. D. MARCI PROCVRATIN LOCVM DEMORTVI PRINCIPIS SV
STITVAS, TE ROGAMVS DOMINE. XV. AVGVSTI M.D.LXXXV.

118. Self-Portrait of Jacopo Palma il Giovane (detail, see fig. 100)

people. If we cast our minds back to the oratory decoration, we find Priamo Balbi in the act of doing just that; administering the Host to Pasquale Cicogna,[134] the single most important individual in the Republic, but also to his poor widow charges (fig. 117). The wall narratives also provided touchstones for the ancient and noble status of their order and its struggle to reform, a process that Leoni's *Memoriale* insisted each Crocifero had to play a part.

❧

This chapter has demonstrated that in the final decades of the century, a second group of proactive Crociferi picked up where the last generation had left off, consciously coordinating visual expressions of their worth, their reformed status, and adhesion to Counter-Reformation doctrine. The church became a true Renaissance shrine; to the astonishing collection of works from the earlier part of the century, they added the singular collection of works by the artist to whom the mantle was passed. Perhaps nowhere do we see Palma il Giovane respond to the challenge more thoughtfully and skilfully than at the church of his faithful Crociferi supporters. The portraits of these *frati* and the artist himself within the surviving decoration in the Gesuiti serve as poignant reminders of what time has obscured (fig. 118).

117. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Priamo Balbi Administers the Host to Pasquale Cicogna and the Ospizio Widows (before his election)*, 1585-1588, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice

[1] Part of the present chapter was summarized and reworked in Allison Sherman, "La collocazione originale del Martirio di San Lorenzo di Tiziano: la chiesa scomparsa di Chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi", in *La Notte di San Lorenzo: genesi, contesti, peripezie di un capolavoro di Tiziano*, eds. Lionello Puppi and Letizia Lonzi (Crocetta del Montello, TV, 2013), pp. 16–43. See Add. I for the unpublished original English version of the essay.

[2] ASV, NA, Figolin, B. 5626.

[3] S. Benedetti, *Giacomo del Duca e l'architettura del Cinquecento* (Rome, 1972), 155-71.

[4] ASV, PSMsupra, Com, B. G, fasc. 4, c. 83r, 172r-v. "Libro delle entrate et spese appartenenti alla mensa del reverendissimo padre general (dei Crociferi) che si faranno nel suo triennio... (1574-1580).

[5] AST, CRS, SMR, B. 11, 1568, c. 30v and 1571-2, c. 19r.

[6] Benedetti, 226 and W. Barcham, *Grand in design: the life and career of Federico Cornaro* (Venice, 2001), 47-8.

[7] ASVat, VA, 3, cc. 48-49. "...nuper a Patribus constructum" and "olim C[-]merarii tamquam Benefactoris, cuius sepulcrum manet in medio eius Ecclesiae". ASVat, CSR, 24, c.13v. Mass obligations in 1650: "Per grata corrispondenza de beneficij ricevuti dall'E[ccelentissi]mo e R[everen]do Sig[no]re Card[ina]le Alvise Cornaro".

[8] Benedetti, 239, note. 5. R. Venuti, *Accurata, e succinta descrizione topografica e istorica di Roma moderna*, 1766, v. 1, 127; Titi, 1763, 354-55.

[9] ASVat, CSR, 24, c. 72r.

[10] ASVat, CSR, 24, c. 72v.

[11] *Nuova Guida di Verona e della sua provincia,* 1854, 107-6. Torbido produced a *Trinity*, Ligozzi an *Invention of the Cross*, Turchi an *Assunta*, Ridolfi an *Angelo Custode*. ASV, PSMsupra, Chiesa, B. 186, cc. 10v-12r.

[12] M. Di Monte, "Vincenzo Morosini, Palma il Giovane e il ritratto di gruppo veneziano" *VC* 7, n. 13 (1997), 172. Michele di Monte has argued against Lunardon's assertion that Cicogna's signature at the top of one of the first resolutions indicates his special role in bringing it about, preferring a more conservative suggestion that Cicogna was one among several procurators who were involved in bringing the deliberations to a close.

[13] L. Ranke, *Venezia nel Cinquecento*, trans. I. Zapperi Walter (Rome, 1974), 173-77.

[14] Di Monte, 1997, 160.

[15] On Corfu a consecrated host was whisked out of the hands of a priest and into Cicogna's.

[16] Tafuri, 1993, 184-5.

[17] The connection between the Crociferi and the doge is communicated through its centrality in his votive painting by Palma il Giovane in the Sala dei Pregadi of the Palazzo Ducale, which celebrates the principal tenets, attachments and achievements of his life against the backdrop of the church (fig. 72).

[18] On the *recto* of the Cicogna *osella* was an angel bestowing the ducal *corno* on Cicogna, and on the *verso* the Crociferi symbol. [Editor's note: Numismatica Ranieri, Bologna, 26-27/10/2012, Lot No. 1520].

[19] ASV, NT (Secco), B. 1192, n. 527, c. 8v.

[20] ASV, AP, cc.125v-126v. This standard was

recorded in the 1656 inventory, in addition to a chasuble with his arms.

[21] F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, ed. G. Stringa (Venice, 1604), 148. "...si fabrica al presente". G. Gronau, *Documenti artistici Urbinati* (Florence, 1935), 244. A 1604 letter from Campagna to the Duke of Urbino mentions the effigy is complete.

[22] W. Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna* (Münich, 1972), 267-8, n. 20. 1600-3. See also: J. Simane, *Grabmonumente der Dogen: Venezianische Sepulkralkunst im Cinquecento* (Sigmaringen, 1993).

[23] P. Rossi, *Girolamo Campagna* (Verona, 1968), 33-4.

[24] Gaier, 2002, 245. See App. VIII. These engravings refer to his central achievements: release from pestilence and famine, the miracle of the Host on Corfu, meritorious service as *rettore* at Crete, where he was honoured with a marble likeness on the citadel wall. This statue was also depicted in Cicogna's Pregadi votive painting.

[25] Priamo is never referred to as prior, but rather as *hospitalano* or *procuratore.*

[26] ASV, AP, c. 128v. An *anniversaria* listed in the 1656 inventory for a former prioress of the hospital, Donna Venturina Balbi.

[27] See App. V for his biography.

[28] ASVat, FV II, CV, 908/40.

[29] Lunardon, 52-7. The first was the dispute with the procurators, the second a *processo* against the plebanum of San Felice.

[30] ASV, ZC, fasc. 8.

[31] ASV, ZC, *Libro di Spese*, 31. July 1594, Vittore Soranzo allots 141 L from the *commissaria* of Badoer for the choir *banchi*.

[32] App. V for biographies.

[33] Graziano, Bondumier and Marino were at the monastery as early as 1556 and throughout the 1560's and 1570's, along with Fossano and Foresti who appear as early as 1563 with Balbi. (ASV, PSMsupra, Chiesa, B. 103; ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 392; Leoncini, B. 7829; Figolin, B. 5604). Balbi, Boldù, Camillo Bressan, Ferro, Graziano, Marino, Barbaro, Stridonio and Bondumier were all *sacerdoti* together in 1564, while Leoni and Badoer were novices.

[34] ASV, ZC, *Libro*, cc. 31, 47, 48, 57; ASVat, VA, 96; ASVat, FV II, CV, 908/40, 5v. Barbaro was prior in 1581 and Graziano was General of the order. Marino was prior in 1583, Foresti 1584, Graziano 1585, Badoer 1587-88, Fossano was Master General in 1590, Leoni 1593, Soranzo 1594.

[35] K. Lowe, "Elections of Abbesses and Notions of Identity in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth- Century Italy" *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001), 402-3. The author of the 1523 chronicle stressed the institution's (probably mythical) foundation by the daughter of Federico Barbarossa and approval by Alexander III and the doge, in response to a moment of internal upheaval and increasing orthodoxy.

[36] L. Badoer, *Rime Spirituali del R.do Padre F. Lauro Badoaro Curcifero* (Bologna, 1571), 1-2.

[37] App. V for biographies. Cremaschi was responsible for Bologna rebuild. Ferro was Venetian prior in 1563, Master General in 1571. Confalonieri, Cirno and Boldù were priors at Venice during the

first project of redecoration. Confalonieri initiated Paduan rebuild, and Rossi saw it to completion. Semitecolo was prior at Venice and Master General, and his preaching funded the Verona rebuild.

[38] Leoni, 1598, 23.

[39] A 1606 self-portrait of the artist at 58 places his birth date to 1548 (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). S. Mason Rinaldi, "Novità, ritrovamenti e restituzioni a Jacopo Palma il Giovane", *AV* 36 (1982), 152.

[40] P. Cottrell, "The artistic parentage of Palma Giovane" *BM* 144 (2002), 289-91.

[41] S. Mason Rinaldi, *Palma il Giovane: L'opera completa* (Milan, 1984), 9-11.

[42] Venuti, 1767, I, 304-5.

[43] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 173; G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti* (Bologna, 1642), 183-4. "…lavorò un quadro a olio, en, entrovi una gloria d'Angioli, con puttini, in atto d'adorare il Santissimo Sagramento con buona maniera". *Roma antica, e moderna*, 1750, 243; Titi, 1763, 354-5: "Nel quadro dell' Altar maggiore era una gloria d' Angioli, che adorano il Santissimo, con diligenza dipinta da Giacomo Palma, allora giovinetto, con tutto il restante da i lati". Venuti, 304-5: "un bel quadro ch'era di Giacomo Palma".

[44] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 173.

[45] *Ibid.*, 179.

[46] Boschini, 1664, 424.

[47] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 174; Boschini, 1664, 424; Zanetti, *Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture della città di Venezia* (Venice, 1733), 385.

[48] Rossetti, 1780, 256-8.

[49] Lucco, 1981, 11; Federici, 1803, II, 60.

[50] Bruzio, v. 19, 700-703; Ridolfi, 1648, II, 366. Fra Cosimo Piazza Cappuccino produced a *Martyrdom of St. Cletus* for the altar in *cornu evangeli* and frescoes of the Passion around the altar. Another pupil painted a *Baptism of Christ*.

[51] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 174; ASV, AP, c. 123v; F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, ed. G. Martinioni (Venice, 1663), 168; Boschini, 1664, 422; Barri, 1671, 59; Martinelli, 1684, 223.

[52] Mason Rinaldi, 1984, cat. 565; Y. Suzuki, *Studien zu Künstlerporträts der Maler und Bildhauer in der venetischen und venezianischen Kunst der Renaissance*, (Münster, 1996), 283, cats. 126, 146-8. [Editor's note: Dorotheum, Vienna, 9/6/2020, Lot No. 78; oil on slate, 30.5 × 24.5 cm].

[53] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 203. "Sorti egli nondimeno poca felicità nei figliuoli… l'uno si morì vagando per il mondo ricoverato in Napoli nel Convento dei Padri Crociferi, amorevoli del padre suo".

[54] D. Rosand, "Palma il Giovane as Draughtsman: The Early Career and Related Observations", *Master Drawings*, 8 (1970), 12, figs. 50a, 50b and 51.

[55] Sansovino, 1581, 142v.

[56] J. Schulz, *Venetian Painted Ceilings of the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1968), 39.

[57] Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 139, cats. 523, 523A-H.

[58] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 179; Boschini, 1664, 426; Zanetti, 1771, 308. In 1875 a Paris Bordon *Presentation in Temple* was on altar; the Palma was in the oratory of Filippo e Luigi where it was recorded as badly damaged.

[59] ASVat, FV II, CV, 908/40. Listed as prior

in this 1583 *processo*.

[60] Mason Rinaldi, 1977, 246-7. Payments in December 1584, April 1585, October 1585.

[61] R. Zava Boccazzi, "Inserti ritrattistici in alcune tele di Palma il Giovane" *Pantheon* 23 (1965), 297-8.

[62] Payments in March 1585, August 1587.

[63] ASV, ZC, *Libro*. Payments in August 1589, June 1590.

[64] Lunardon, 111.

[65] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 180-1.

[66] Zava Boccazzi, 1965, 297-8.

[67] *Ibid.*, 297-8. Zava Boccazzi asserted he also appears in the Zen *telero* (second to the right of the dogaressa) and in the later Paul IV painting (the figure gesturing toward the pope in the lower left corner). While I accept that the Crocifero in the Zen painting is probably the same man, the one depicted in the Paul IV canvas is clearly not. His nose is long and slanted, while that of the Crocifero portrayed in the Zen and *Decollation* paintings is smaller and slightly upturned. Zava Boccazzi's may be correct that Ridolfi mistook the identity of the Crocifero in the guise of Liberius. No Fra Simon Rossi is ever mentioned in documents, however there was a Simone Rossi (Simon Rubens), another high-ranking Crocifero, and a Girolamo Rossi, Master General in 1598.

[68] ASPat, CSM, B. 7, n. 63. Paul IV intervened several times on their behalf, and ceded Santa Maria in Trivio to the Crociferi.

[69] *Memoriale*, 1591, 1v.

[70] The *Transport* was installed in December 1590, the last payment for the *Flagellation* was made in August 1592. The sacristy ceiling was commissioned in May 1589, was affixed in February 1589, the last payment was made in August 1598.

[71] The present compartments are 18th century; the sacristy was enlarged in the rebuild, which would have required a redistribution of the ceiling arrangement.

[72] Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 126, cats. 412-422.

[73] *Ibid.*, 126, cat. 423.

[74] *Ibid.*, 126, cats. 424-431.

[75] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 182. "...nell'ultima èta sua espresse, sopra ai banchi, in quattro quadri" of "molto minor perfezione delle opere dette". Palma has depicted himself above the two children carrying a sword and helmet.

[76] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 182; Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 127, cat. 433. Ridolfi noted it was "molto lodata per la delicatezza".

[77] Tramontin, 1967, 453-533, and S. Mason Rinaldi, "Immagini della devozione eucaristica in Venezia alla fine del Cinquecento" in *Venezia e la Roma dei papi* (Milan, 1987), 171.

[78] ASV, ZC, *Libro*, c. 131-134.

[79] *Ibid.*, c. 45.

[80] *Ibid.*, cc. 27-29.

[81] Stringa, 1604, 148; Ridolfi, 1648, II, 182; Martinioni, 1663, 168; Boschini, 1664, 419- 24; P. Pacifico, *Cronica veneta* (Venice, 1697), 34; Zanetti, 1733, 385.

[82] ASV, ZC, *Libro*, c. 47.

[83] Mason Rinaldi, 1984, cat. 434/435, 127. (1.40 × 46 cm)

[84] ASV, ZC, *Libro*, c. 63. Martin mounted two wooden *spintelli* (small angels, presumably carved) and four gilded *cantinelle* (narrow partitions, often carved and/or gilded) that

presumably divided the two unidentified works from the central *Vision of Ezekiel*.

[85] C. Moretti, *L'organo italiano* (Cuneo, 1997), 74. The organ gallery of San Benedetto was also decorated with shutters, three pictures for the front of the gallery, and two sibyls in *chiaroscuro* beneath it, all by Tintoretto (lost). B. Paul, "Jacopo Tintoretto and the Church of San Benedetto in Venice" *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 49 (2005), 384-90.

[86] Martinelli, 1684, 222.

[87] ASV, AP, c. 124v.

[88] Paul, 2005, 385.

[89] ASV, ZC, *Libro*, cc. 28-29.

[90] Paul, 2005, 401.

[91] ASV, ZC, *Libro*, c. 29.

[92] *Ibid*., cc. 31, 33-34.

[93] *Ibid*., cc. 33, 35. It was not uncommon for there to be doors in the choir precinct, sometimes placed centrally, or to one side.

[94] *Ibid*., c. 37.

[95] *Ibid*., cc. 37-39.

[96] Moretti, 2004, 155-7. It should be noted that there is no evidence that *psalmi spezzati* were accompanied by organ music, and therefore proximity to the organ would not have been so important, however other sorts of music performed may have benefited from visibility between the lofts.

[97] ASV, ZC, *Libro*, cc. 58, 60, 61, 73-5 and 44, 51.

[98] *Ibid*., cc. 39, 43.

[99] *Ibid*., c. 63.

[100] ASV, AP, c. 125r. They were on the choir in 1656: "tri Quadri grandi di mano di Palma". Boschini, 1664, 426.

[101] Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 76, cat. 33.

[102] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 182.

[103] Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 103, cat. 224.

[104] Hills, 1983, 36.

[105] Cope, 1979, 171; Réau, vol. II, pt. II, 427. This association derives from the prophecies of the Crucifixion, Crowing with Thorns, Flagellation and Derision of Christ respectively.

[106] ASVat, VA, 96.

[107] Mason Rinaldi, 1987, 171.

[108] Zava Boccazzi, 1965, 297; Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 127, cat. 432.

[109] Cirno is last recorded in 1587, although he may well have lived on into the 1590's. Since he was recorded at Venice in 1530, he would have been as elderly as the portrait suggests.

[110] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 182; ASV, AP, 125r; Martinioni, 1663, 169, Martinelli, 1684, 224. The 1656 inventory: "Dall'altra parti del Choro verso l'Altar maggiore... Una Pittura dell'Angil Pasqual di mano dil Palma". Martinelli: "Qui ancora si conserva un quadro del Palma, che fù levato dalla Chiesa, quando li Padre Giesuiti disfecere il Choro che attraversana detta Chiesa, e vi si vedonno gl'Hebrei con l'Angel Pascale, e due Profetti".

[111] Stringa's omission of the painting is the main evidence for a post-1603 date. Balbi's payment suggests the opposite side of the choir was already decorated in 1594.

[112] BMC, Mariegola 116, c. 82r-83v and ASV, NA, Benzon, B.364/365, 427r.

[113] H. K. Makrykostas, *Antonio Vassilacchi Aliense* (Athens, 2008), 55. He registered with the guild of painters in 1584.

[114] Last recorded by Martinelli (1684, 223).

It was on the altar in the 1656 inventory (ASV, AP, c. 123v): "Una Pala di Santa di mano incognita bella".

[115] Humfrey, 1993, 64-5. She was also depicted in the *sacra conversazione* in the Crociferi sacristy.

[116] Schulz, 1968, 38-9.

[117] Humfrey, 1996, 371-89; R. Cocke, "Exemplary lives: Veronese's representations of martyrdom and the Council of Trent" *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996), 388-404; P. Meilman, *Titian and the Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge, 2000).

[118] H. J. Schroeder, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, (London, 1941), 216.

[119] Cocke, 1996, 393-5.

[120] Cope, 1979; Hills, 1983, 30-43.

[121] The tabernacle of Crociferi church was deemed "decens", was silver, and if Palma's depiction of it in the painting of Cicogna receiving word of his election is accurate, it was large, with architectural details and a painted *sportello*, not unlike those Palma painted for tabernacles at San Zaccaria, San Zulian, the Redentore and Umilità. Mason Rinaldi, 1987, 189-90.

[122] *Memoriale*, 1591, 1v.

[123] Cope, 1979, 79, 228. The 22nd session at Trent established that the mass was an actual re-enactment of the Passion. For example, the raising of the Cross occurred when the Host was elevated.

[124] Cope, 1979, 53.

[125] ASV, AP, c. 123r.

[126] Cope, 1979, 225, 228. The adoration and consumption of the paschal lamb—a type for the sacrifice of Christ, and therefore the Eucharist—made it an ideal typology to include in Passion cycles, as well as those that focused on the divine presence the consecrated bread. In the San Giacomo dell'Orio version Palma shifted the traditional focus on the lamb to the bread by omitting the meat altogether, something he may also have done in the lost Crociferi *Passover*.

[127] Cope, 1979, 125, 181, 244.

[128] Schulz, 1968, 65; Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 121-2, cats. 381-7. The decoration at San Giacomo was initiated by the parish priest, Giovanni Maria da Ponte. There was an altar dedicated to the Eucharist and a chapel of the sacrament. The sacristy of San Giacomo had the *Raising of the Bronze Serpent*, *Elijah and the Angel*, the *Gathering of the Manna* and the *Four Evangelists* in common with the Crociferi sacristy.

[129] Cope, 1979, 193.

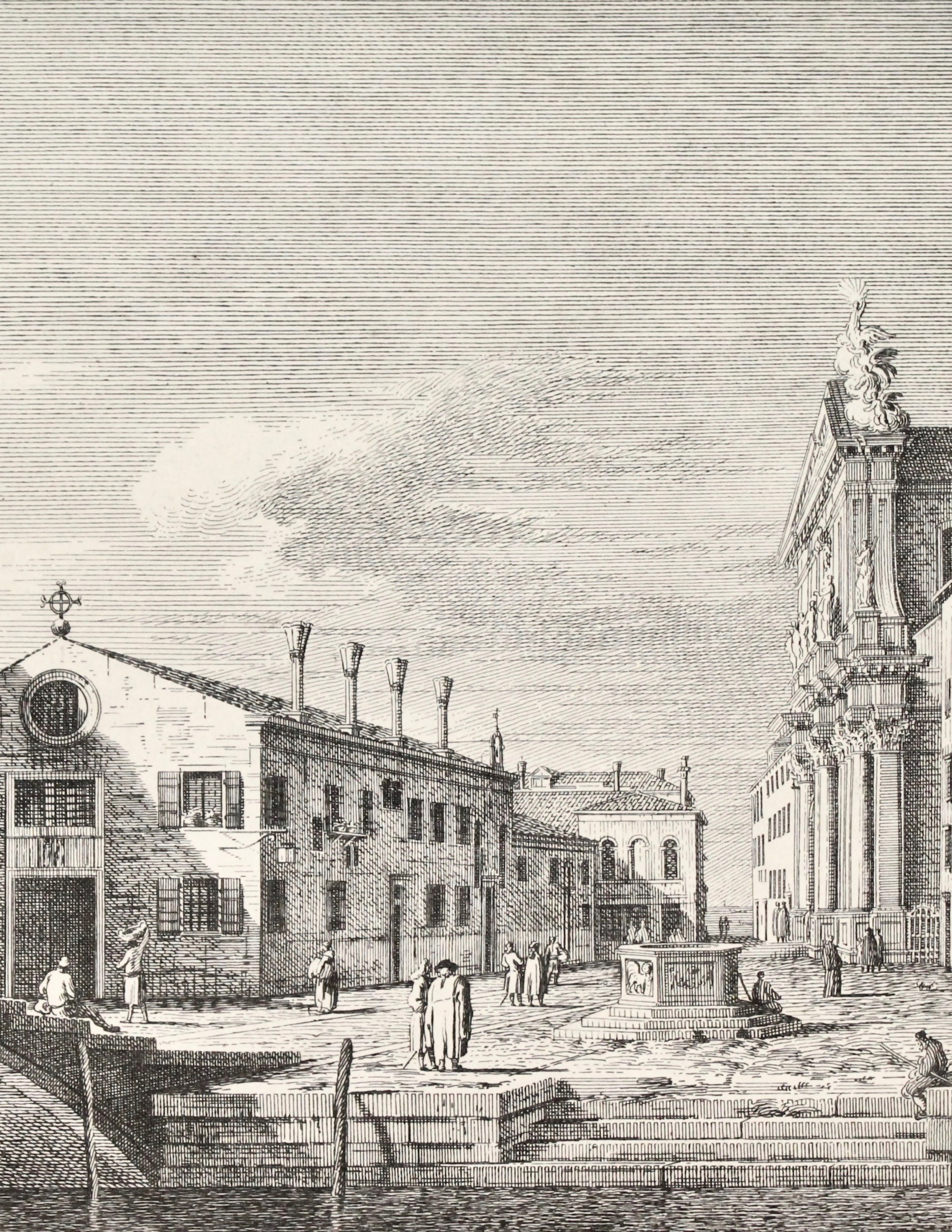
[130] *Ibid.*, 213. These scenes appeared together in other sacramental programmes, for example in Palma's decoration in the sacristy of San Giacomo and Giuseppe Porta Salviati's ceiling decoration for the refectory of Santo Spirito in Isola.

[131] *Ibid.*, 223.

[132] *bid.*, 256, 290.

[133] Barzazi, 1995, 187-191. On Bellarmino: Cope, 1979, 177.

[134] The Eucharist was central to the personal piety of Cicogna. The miracle of the Host he experienced on Corfu led to his fervent devotion to the Eucharist, witnessed by the depiction of the Host in both of his votive paintings in the Palazzo Ducale. S. Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall* (Rome, 1974), 249-50.



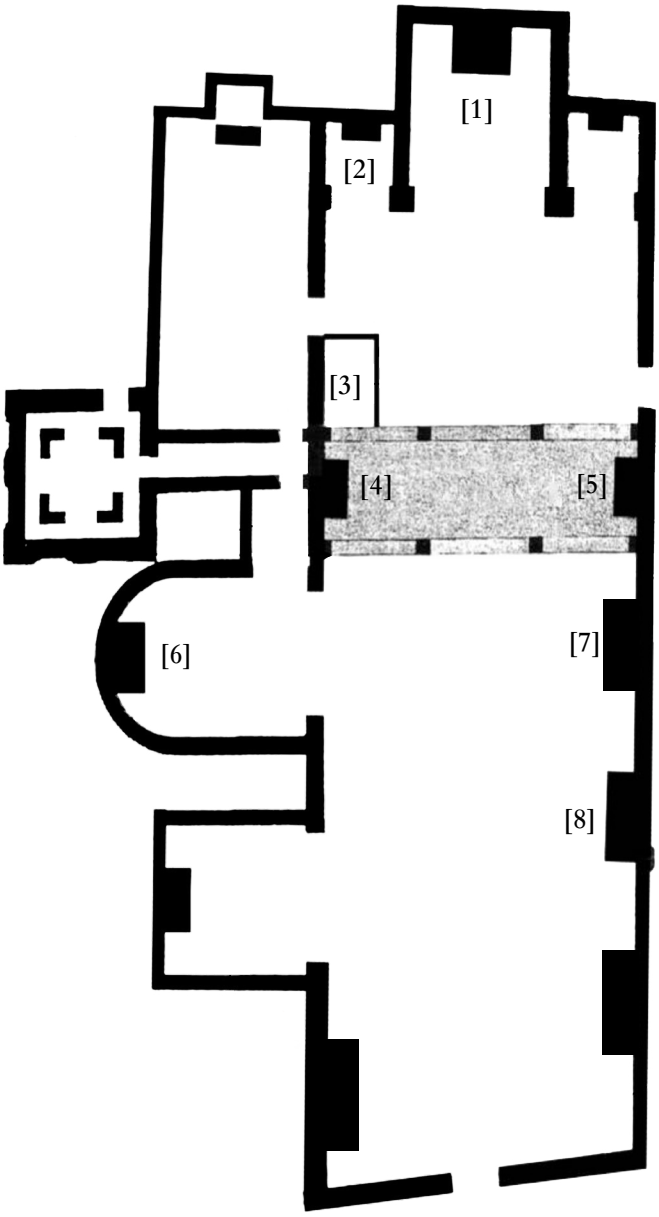
5

Corporate Patronage

In Venice members of like trades formed guilds that regulated aspects of their professional and devotional activities, while other confraternities attracted membership based on a common devotional interest.[1] These *scuole piccole* were an important part of Venetian life. In a city ruled exclusively by the patrician class, these organisations empowered and pacified members of the lower class, providing them with agency at a local level. Their ceremonial processions enhanced public pageantry, something on which Venetians thrived, and their devotional activities promoted the image of Venice as exceptionally devout. The Crociferi church was host to some of the oldest, largest and wealthiest *scuole piccole*.[2] Throughout the sixteenth century, it was the locus of devotion for as many as seven *scuole* (excluding the short-lived presence of the mirror-makers and printers), and as such considerably outnumbered other churches traditionally considered major centres for guild devotion.[3] Should it have survived, the Crociferi church would have contained many of the most lavishly decorated guild altars and chapels in the city.

By the early sixteenth century, four *arti* and two devotional confraternities had altars or chapels at the church of the Crociferi (fig. 120). That the Crociferi attracted the support of a number of guilds that dealt in luxury goods must have been more than mere coincidence. While geographic proximity might provide a

119. Antonio Visentini (after Canaletto), *Campo dei Gesuiti*, 1742 (detail, fig. 3)



[1] Barrel-Makers (*Botteri*)

[2] Silkweavers (*Setaioli*)

[3] Furries (*Varoteri*) (pre c. 1593)

[4] Scuola della Beata Vergine della Concezione

[5] Scuola di San Cristoforo

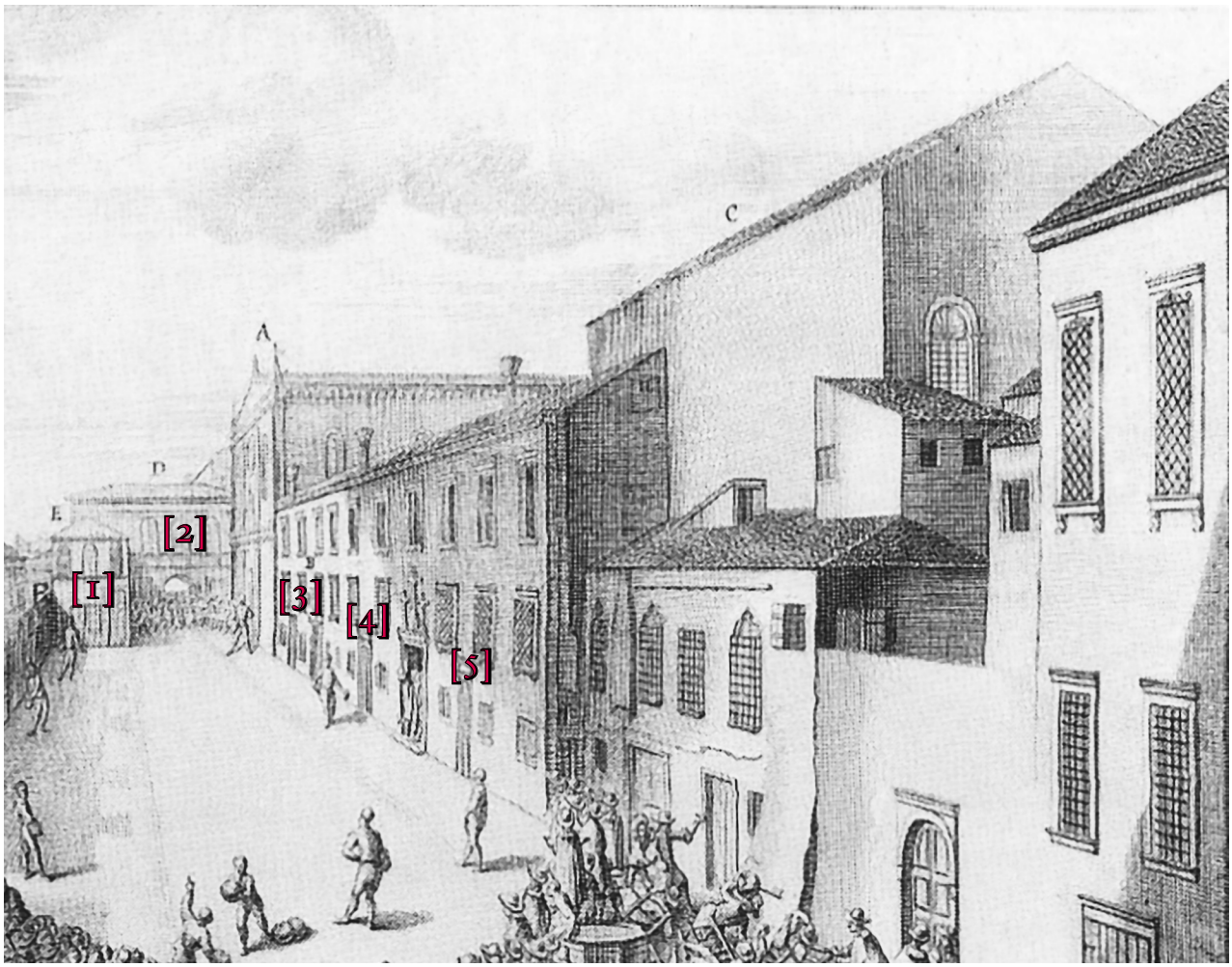
[6] Tailors (*Sartori*)

[7] Furriers (*Varoteri*) (post c. 1593)

[8] Massolo Altar — Passamanteriers, or Braid-Makers (*Passamaneri*), Tailors (*Sartori*)

120. Floorplan of the Church of the Crociferi with locations of altars and chapels under guild patronage (Allison Sherman)

partial explanation, it cannot be considered the dominant factor. Although the parish of Santi Apostoli was the major centre for the textile industry to which the silk-weavers and tailors belonged, the furriers were almost exclusively based on the Rialto side of the island.[4] Nor can it be accidental that between the dedication of the church and those of the *scuole* attached to it, the Crociferi formed a collection of each of the major feasts in the Republic's liturgical calendar. The church was dedicated to the Assumption, the silk-weavers were dedicated to St. Mark, the Annunciation, and the Nativity, the *botteri* to the Purification, the



121. Locations of guild *alberghi* in Domenico Lovisa, *Campo dei Gesuiti* (detail, fig. 25): [1] Scuola dei Botteri (Barrel-Makers); [2] Scuola dei Varoteri (Furriers); [3] Scuola dei Sartori (Tailors); [4] Scuola della Concezione (Immaculate Conception at the Crociferi); [5] Scuola di San Cristoforo (Passamaneri: Passamanteriers, or Braid-Makers)

varoteri to the Visitation, and the Scuola della Concezione to the Immaculate Conception. The tailors were dedicated to St. Barbara, whose body was preserved in a chapel under their patronage, and who enjoyed special significance in Venice because her feast day had important civic connotations. On December 4th an annual lottery, the *Barbarella*, was held in which patrician youths over eighteen had the potential to win the privilege of taking their seat in the Maggior Consiglio at twenty, rather than twenty-five.[5]

Humfrey and Mackenney drew attention to the patronage of this segment of the population, which has suffered from considerable scholarly neglect, largely as a result of the unfortunate depletion of guild archives, which are quite late, fragmentary and disappointingly vague in their description of the objects they possessed. Another reason for an underesti-

הנה העלמה הרה ויולדת בן

mation of their role as patrons is that the artistic contributions they made tended to be modest due to financial restrictions.[6] Their wealthier counterparts, the *Scuole Grandi*, were able to commission opulent decorative projects, narrative cycles and ceilings. For the *scuole piccole*, the priority was to secure an altar at a church, then to furnish it with liturgical objects and an altarpiece. The *pala* was generally traditional, with little innovation until the later part of the century, because their finances often dictated they hire second or third rate artists.[7] The establishment of a meetinghouse would be the next step, and in the cinquecento some *scuole piccole* were able to do so, although rarely were they able to decorate them in any substantial way. All of the confraternities active at the Crociferi church form exceptions to these general rules. They all had *alberghi* with altarpieces, some with ceiling and narrative paintings (figs. 119, 121). Two had chapels, all but one had a church altar, and with one exception, they commissioned at least one altarpiece, supporting decoration for their altars, and even the communal areas of the church. Among the surviving guild altarpieces listed by Humfrey and Mackenney, those once in the Crociferi church stand out in terms of quality, innovation and calibre of the artist. Given the pattern of astute, deliberate patronage at the church, it is difficult to view this extraordinary concentration as mere coincidence.

122. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *Annunciation*, 1495, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (see also page 216)

Setaioli

Venice was among the most vibrant centres of silk production in all of Europe, along with Genoa, Bologna and Lucca, particularly after 1314, when political unrest drove Lucchese manufacturers and merchants to the lagoon.[8] As a cosmopolitan city on trade routes to and from the East, Venice was the ideal place for such a luxury industry to thrive. There were three divisions within the trade: dyers, weavers and merchants. The weavers made the Crociferi church the centre of their devotional activities.[9] Within the weavers there were the *veluderi* (velvet-makers), the *samiteri* (producers of plain cloth), the *tessitori di panni di seta*, and eventually the *passamaneri*, (producers of woven trimmings).[10] To increase membership and finances, the *veluderi* and *samiteri* merged in 1347, and both celebrated mass at the Crociferi church. In 1488 they merged with the *tessitori di panni di seta*.[11] By 1430 there were at least 400 weavers, 500 in 1493, and an astonishing 1200 in 1554.

If the new Crociferi church was initiated around 1490, the silk-weavers wasted no time in initiating the decoration of their chapel, *in cornu evangeli*. Boschini's 1664 account of its appearance remains the most detailed. He described the altarpiece as the *Annunciation* produced by

124. Giovanni Mansueti, *The Arrest of St. Mark*, 1497–1499, Lichtenstein The Princely Collections, Vaduz and Vienna

123. (left) Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *St. Mark Healing the Cobbler Anianus*, 1497–1499, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (see also page 354)

Cima da Conegliano in 1495 (fig. 122).[12] On the left wall of the chapel hung a narrative cycle, four scenes from the life of St. Mark by Cima, Lattanzio da Rimini and Giovanni Mansueti dating to c.1497–9, only two of which survive (figs. 123–124).[13] On the opposite wall was an *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Paolo Veronese (fig. 127). The testimony of Stringa, Ridolfi and Martinioni confirms this configuration, with the addition of one further detail: Saints Mark and Sebastian in shell niches, also by Cima, on either side of the altarpiece (fig. 125; see also page 354).[14]

Logic dictates that the altarpiece would have been prioritized as the first commission. The *samiteri* carried a dedication to the Annunciation to the merger of the branches of the trade, a devotion to which

125. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, (left) *St. Mark*, and (right) *St. Sebastian*, c. 1500, The National Gallery, London

126. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *Coronation of the Virgin with Saints and Prophets*, c. 1505–1510, Basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

Humfrey has suggested the members of the guild, mostly Lucchese immigrants, adopted in order to align themselves with the devotional proclivities of the Republic.[15] The same might be said of the *veluderi*, who selected the beloved patron of the Venetian Republic, St. Mark, and the depiction of this saint in the chapel was obviously related to this *colonnello*.[16] The inclusion of St. Sebastian, to whom the guild had no official dedication, might better be understood in terms of his general popularity as a plague saint. The execution of the narrative cycle and flanking saints must have followed gradually as the guild could afford to commission them. They cannot have been unhappy with Cima's altarpiece; he provided the flanking saints, and a *Coronation with Saints and Prophets* (fig. 126) by Cima (and worshop) was recorded in their meeting-house in the late eighteenth century.[17] He was also the first to contribute to the cycle with a *St. Mark Healing the Cobbler Anianus* (fig. 123).[18] Following this painting would have been the *St. Mark Preaching* by Lattanzio da Rimini (lost), then Giovanni Mansueti's *Arrest of St. Mark* (fig. 124). The final scene, the subject of which was never specified, must have been a scene of his martyrdom, or even the theft and translation of his relics to Venice, to establish the guilds' proximity to the saint and its intercessory powers.[19]

Cima achieved a graceful and contemplative effect in his altarpiece, that at once betrays the influence of Giovanni Bellini, and of Netherlandish depictions of the Annunciation (see fig. 122).[20] The Virgin kneels in prayer within a domestic

setting. The direction of her gaze and the gesture of her hand suggest that she has only just realized that she is not alone in the room. The angel Gabriel approaches, garments still fluttering from his entry. The setting, the shadow cast by Gabriel, and the fly resting on the *trompe l'oeil cartellino* encourage the viewer to meditate on the reality of incarnation, as if it was occurring in an extension of real space. The position of the Virgin makes her accessible to the viewer, however her purity is emphasised by her placement behind the *prie dieu*, and by her elevation high above the world seen through the window beyond. The Hebrew inscription on the canopy of the bed has been identified as a passage in the Old Testament (Isaiah 7:14) that prophesied the Virgin birth and was incorporated into the liturgy for the Feast of the Annunciation, which the guild would have celebrated annually.[21]

Judging from the surviving narrative paintings by Cima and Mansueti, as well as a preparatory drawing for the lost work by Lattanzio,[22] an effort was made to unite the various parts of the cycle through the use of receding perspective, exotic architecture and the employment of an Eastern aesthetic, particularly in the dress of the participants.[23] These motifs located the events in Alexandria where Mark spent his final days, while referencing elements of the everyday visual world of the Venetian guild members. Architecture in the lagoon city was heavily influenced by the eastern world, and as a cosmopolitan centre of trade, the streets were populated with people from all corners of the known world.[24] Inspiration for the variety of colours, textures, shapes and types was literally at their doorstep, and it is clear that buildings like San Marco and the newly constructed church of the Miracoli served as models for their marbled cityscapes. The rich jewel tones and intricate patterns employed in the paintings would have appealed to the patrons, with their particularly keen eye for luxury, and Cima has even made an effort to render one of the intricate damasks produced by the weavers in the robe of the turbaned figure behind Anianus.

The commission of this narrative cycle should be viewed as a rather remarkable response on the part of a guild to a genre that was still burgeoning, largely as a result of the more sophisticated patronage of the Scuole Grandi. Their choice to decorate their chapel in this way was to assert the affluence of their guild, recently enhanced through the merging of three *colonnelli*, perhaps even in emulation of the exclusive Scuole Grandi. In 1492 Gentile Bellini offered to produce a cycle of scenes of the life of St. Mark for the newly rebuilt *albergo* of the *scuola*. The reader will recall that at that moment Alvise Dardani would have been protector of the Crociferi and Guardian Grande at the Scuola di San Marco. Although delays postponed the actual execution of the cycle Bellini initiated (1504–c.1534), the idea would have been in the front of Dardani's mind in those

127. Paolo Veronese, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1560–1565, Chapel of the Rosary, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (formerly in the Setaioli chapel of the Crociferi) (see also pages 125)

first years after the completion of the Crociferi church. The cycles had subjects and Giovanni Mansueti in common. His *Arrest of St. Mark* at the Crociferi may have recommended him to Dardani and the Scuola Grande di San Marco *confratelli*. He produced four scenes before his death in 1526/7, which echoed the Crociferi precedent in their allusions to the Islamic world.[25] By modern standards artists like Mansueti, Cima and Lattanzio are considered second tier in comparison to the Bellini and Vivarini, but in reality these artists were highly sought after, of-

128. Jacob Matham (after Veronese), *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1621, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

ten but not exclusively by more modest patrons. This should not lead us to discount the quality of their output, and indeed, the *setaioli* cycle demonstrates their ability to respond to artistic innovation.

Botteon connected the names inscribed on the *cartellino* to the left of the Virgin in the Cima *Annunciation* with the Lucchese guild members charged with overseeing the commission.[26] A similar inscription on Mansueti's *Arrest of St. Mark* confirms their involvement. The Lucchese community was based at an oratory at the Servite church, which they decorated with one of the earliest recorded narrative cycles.[27] Painted sometime after 1370 by Nicoletto Semitecolo, the lost cycle focused on the relic of the Volto Santo. As early participants in the genre of painted cycles, the immigrant Lucchese *confratelli* may have suggested the addition of the narrative scenes.[28]

129. Giacomo Barri (after Veronese), *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1667, British Museum, London

Around 1560 the silk-weavers further embellished their chapel with a Paolo Veronese *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Chapel of the Rosary, Santi Giovanni e Paolo) (fig. 127).[29] In the end, the Crociferi church would finally get its Veronese. As already noted, Veronese immediately garnered high profile private and civic commissions. That the guild would seek out a work by his hand once again speaks to their desire to participate in the latest trends, and a remarkable financial capacity to do so. This was a painting of exceptional quality that continued to attract attention well into the next century when it was engraved by Jacob Matham in 1621 and Giacomo Barri in 1667 (figs. 128–129; see also p. 354).[30] Because the subject would not have conformed to the dedication of the chapel to the Annunciation, it was obviously conceived as a lateral painting. According to Boschini,

the work hung on the right wall in 1664. Its relocation a decade later to the opposite wall scandalized the author, who claimed it had disturbed the effect of the lighting, which was plainly designed to enter from the left.[31] The choice of the subject of the Nativity must have been related to yet another *colonnello*, the *passamaneri*. This division enjoyed a major period of growth during the cinquecento due to demand for their fashionable products. They were so prosperous that they broke away and formed their own guild in 1593, dedicated to the Nativity, but they were still united with the other weavers at the time the Veronese was commissioned.[32] The lion of St. Mark positioned in the lower left corner refers to the co-dedication of the *veluderi colonnello*.

The naturalism and dynamism of Veronese's painting must have provided a stark contrast to the static works of Cima and his contemporaries. Additionally, the space must have started to feel much like a picture gallery. At 350 × 290 cm, the Veronese would have filled the right wall, while the left wall would have been lined with the narrative paintings, and the altar wall almost totally occupied by the altarpiece and its flanking saints. So it was when the apostolic visitors arrived in 1581, noting it was "ornatum in omnibus". By 1656 still other paintings had accumulated. The post-suppression inventory recorded "Diversi Quadri da tutti dui le Parti della Capella". It notes "uno di Paolo Veronese, l'altro sopra tavola di mano incognita". Presumably the latter refers to the Cima *Annunciation*. Another "Pittura sopra legno con l'effiggii di SS. Pietro e Paolo" and "Due altri quadri lunghi, uno dell'Annuntiata, l'altro dell'Angelo Gabriel" were also recorded in the chapel, but have never been identified. I would suggest that the painting on wood of saints Peter and Paul might have originally topped the Cima altarpiece, perhaps in the form of a lunette (or *cimasa*), although it is undeniably strange that such an ensemble was never described. If so, it would have resembled Cima's high altarpiece from the parish church of Zermen (c. 1507-1510), a *sacra conversazione* of similar dimensions, topped by the *cimasa* of *Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul* (fig. 130).[33]

By 1674 Boschini registered several changes in the decoration, including the disappearance of two of the four St. Mark narratives. In 1684 Martinelli observed that "tutte le pitture antiche" had been removed from the chapel.[34] Presumably many things were scattered at that time, first to the guild meetinghouse at the Misericordia, which had been relocated in 1612 from its smaller quarters along the façade of the Crociferi monastery. What happened to these paintings next belongs to the narrative of their afterlife, to which I will return briefly in my concluding remarks.

130. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *Zermen Altarpiece,* and the lunette with *Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul*, c. 1507-1510, Museo Civico, Feltre (on loan from the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice)

Scuola di San Cristoforo, Passamaneri, Specchieri

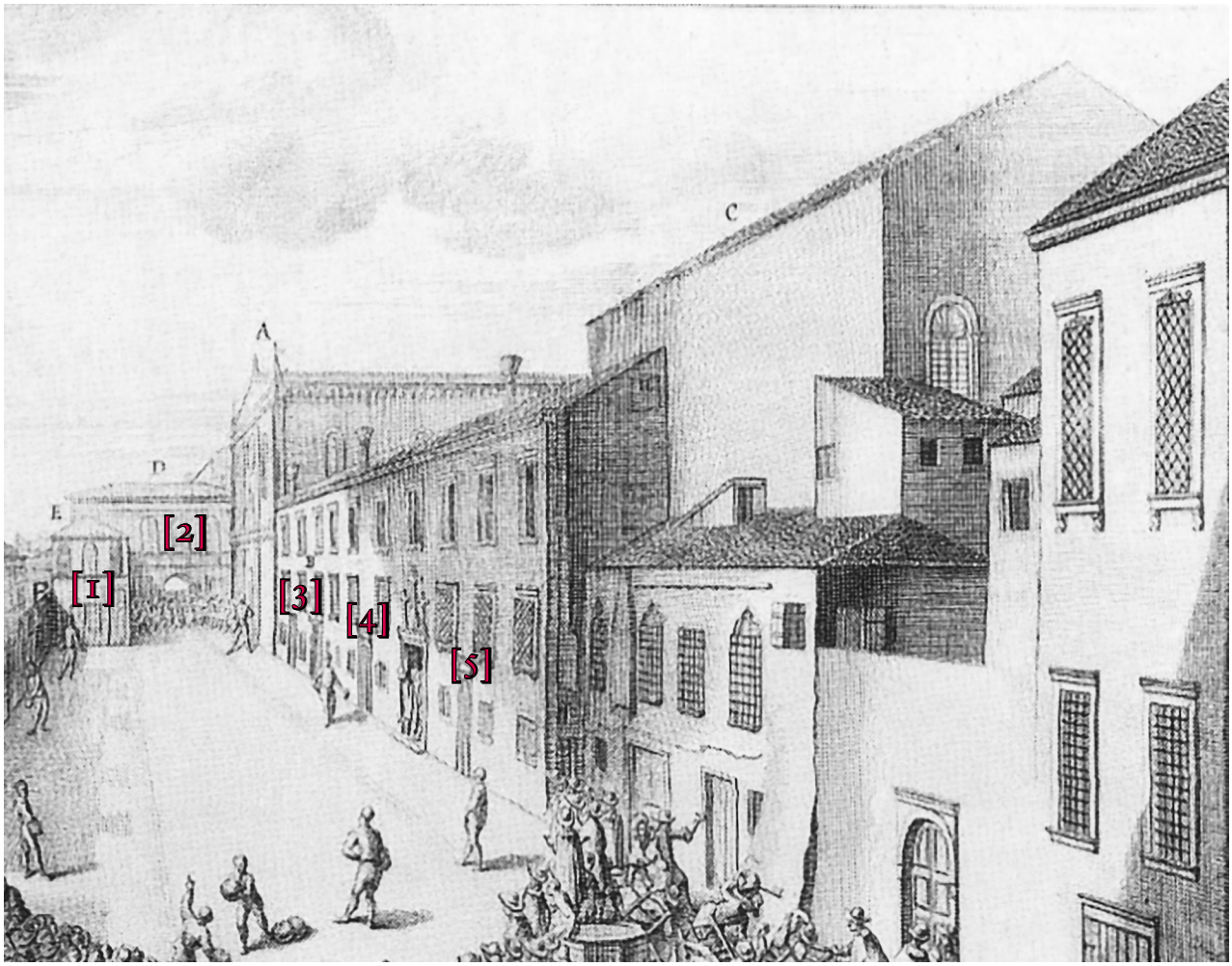
The Scuola di San Cristoforo was active at the Crociferi church as early as 1346. It occupied an altar on the right side of the church, just beneath the choir near the exit to the cloister,[35] and in 1367 it established an *albergo* along the façade of the monastery (fig. 131).[36] The *scuola* possessed a relic of an impressively large tooth and a piece of the skull of the giant saint, and it was intimately connected to the silk-weavers' guild.[37] In 1464 the *veluderi* decreed that no one could obtain title of "maestro" in their *arte*, if they were not also members of the Scuola di San Cristoforo. In 1495 the *tessitori di panni di seta* followed suit. This gesture increased the confraternity's profile, and by 1567 there were over 350 members.

Nothing of the altar's decoration is known to survive, although the apostolic visitors described it as "ornatum honorifice". By 1581 it was adorned by the lost *pala* of the saint by Palma il Giovane painted upon his return from Rome. It was recorded on the altar in 1656, flanked by two unidentified paintings, and remained until after 1684 when Martinelli recorded it for the final time.[38]

The *passamaneri* were originally considered a division of the silk-weavers' guild, but gained their independence in 1593.[39] They took responsibility for the altar of St. Lawrence sometime before 1642, the year in which the Crociferi signed an accord assigning them an *albergo* to the right of the monastery entrance. It also stated that the *scuola* already serviced the altar.[40] Although masses continued to be given in perpetuity for the Massolo family, the family was extinct and the altar required upkeep. The apostolic visitors recorded that even in 1581 the altar of St. Lawrence was "annexed" to a guild, but does not specify which. I would speculate that in 1581 it may well have been under the care of the *specchieri* or mirror-makers, a highly prized trade which only established a guild in 1564. Notations in their *mariegola* record votes taken "alla scola di S. Cristoforo alli Crosichieri from around 1600 to 1641, and indeed, the accord of 1642 confirms the *albergo* the *passamaneri* assumed had been occupied by the *specchieri*, "da questi lasciato".[41]

Sartori

The tailors' guild was extremely wealthy, judging from the tangible signs of their affluence: a three-storey *albergo* to the right of the church (fig. 131),[42] a sumptuous chapel, and a hospital that tended to "poveri impotenti".[43] Matteo Palmieri, a Seicento chronicler of the relics of their patron, St. Barbara, recorded an engraved marble slab above the door in their *albergo*. It probably marked the foundation of the meetinghouse in February 1391—a year before the initiation of their *mariegola*—approved by Fra Giovanni Zambotti da Mantova, "Priore de tutti i frati



131. Locations of guild *alberghi* in Domenico Lovisa, *Campo dei Gesuiti* (detail, fig. 25): [1] Scuola dei Botteri (Barrel-Makers); [2] Scuola dei Varoteri (Furriers); [3] Scuola dei Sartori (Tailors); [4] Scuola della Concezione (Immaculate Conception at the Crociferi); [5] Scuola di San Cristoforo (Passamaneri: Passamanteriers, or Braid-Makers) (see also figs. 133, 137)

dell'Ordine".[44] Giovanni Zambotti was a famous Trecento Crocifero, patriarch of Grado (1406-1408).[45] At the peak of Crociferi indiscipline, the *sartori* were charged with care of the body of St. Barbara. The Crociferi received the relics in 1258 at the behest of Doge Renier Zen, who decided the body should be placed in the church after its translation from the east by the merchant Raffaele Baseggio. The story, first related by the fourteenth-century hagiographer Pietro Calò, relates that the body was carried in procession with great solemnity to the church, working four miracles along the way.[46] The legendary status of the translation story must be stressed, for there was a second body of Barbara at the convent of San Giovanni Evangelista di Torcello. Although the Torcello relics would ultimately gain official recognition, it was the Crociferi body that received popular

132. Bonifacio de' Pitati, *Madonna and Child with St. Barbara and St. Omobono Giving Alms* (*Sartori altarpiece*), 1533, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

devotion in Venice.[47] The debate over its authenticity peaked in 1624, when the Crociferi reliquary was opened for examination, and two written chronicles emerged in defence of the two variations of the legend.[48]

The tailors gained custody of the relics around 1467.[49] The records of the Consiglio dei Dieci note the building of a chapel in that year—which was presumably retained in the new church built a few decades later—and mentions the *sartori* who were already involved in some capacity.[50] I suspect that the chapel and the transfer of custody of the relics were established during Cardinal Bessarion's tenure as *commendatore*. Palmieri records "Un'istromento tra il Cardinal Niceno detto Bessarione & li Padri Crociferi circa l'illuminar il corpo di Santa Barbara fatto l'anno 1469 di 17 aprile".[51] The guild's adoption of St. Barbara as patron

resulted solely from this arrangement, not as a result of any particular relevance the saint had to their trade. Barbara was rarely associated with tailors outside of Venice; whereas elsewhere she was also patron to the *bombardieri*.[52]

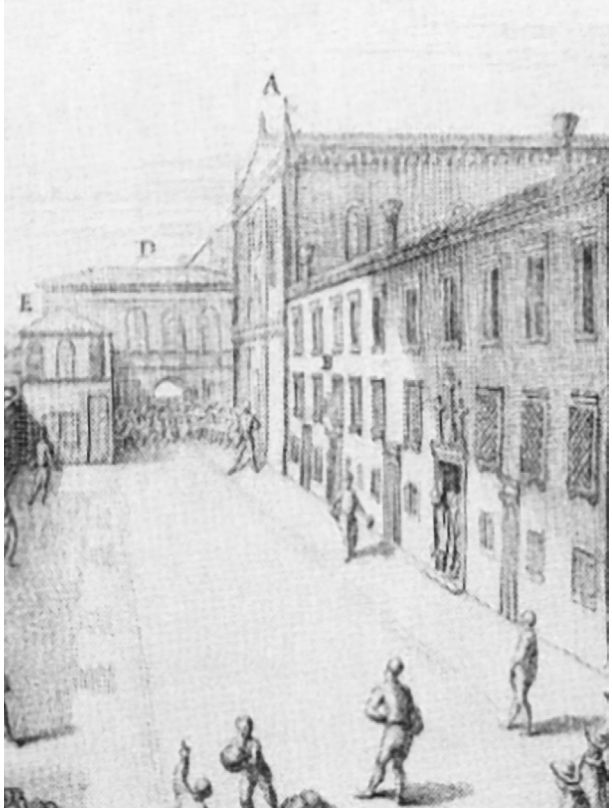
The *sartori* chapel of St. Barbara was the second of the two that extended off the left side of the nave (fig. 120). In 1581 Sansovino described the chapel as "assai ricca et honorata".[53] The apostolic visitors were more specific:

> "Altare Sancte Barbarae in Capella in qua est Corpus ipsius sanctae locatum decentissime in Arca marmorea fulcita columna marmorea; & duobus Angelis ex marmore".

Palmieri paints a spectacular vision of a chapel totally "incrostata" with Parian marble, the coveted white marble favoured by the Hellenic world, known for its unique transparency.[54] The relics of St. Barbara were kept in a marble *cassa* with gilded copper doors, elevated by marble columns and topped with marble effigy, nestled into a space that must have seemed like a reliquary within a reliquary.[55] By 1656 there were also "diversi pitturi intorno ad una parti di essa capella di mano di pittori in certo". Guild inventories of 1641, 1680 and 1707 described "quadri 4 con la vita di Santa Barbara" inside the chapel, along with a "Madonna alla grecha" and a "quadro grande della Madonna e Santa Barbara". Martinelli stated "v'è tra gl'altri un quadro con Santa Barbara condota avanti Tiranno: mano di Bernardino Prudenti".[56]

By 1718 the paintings of the life of Barbara from the chapel were in the meetinghouse, but were evidently not considered objects of worth ("non vagliono niente").[57] The chapel narratives joined the painted narrative frieze depicting scenes from her life recorded in the *sala terrena* of their *albergo*, a work of the "prima puerizia del Tintoretto".[58] Although neither cycle survives, what remains significant is that the guild was able to commission two cycles, when most were unable to consider commissioning one. Their *albergo* also contained a painted ceiling by the school of Titian, featuring a *Padre Eterno*, and busts of the four evangelists and doctors of the church, yet another undertaking that would have been well beyond the reach of most guilds.[59] Also decorating the meetinghouse was the fine altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with St. Barbara and St. Omobono Giving Alms* by Bonifacio (fig. 132)[60], and an alleged Giorgione *Madonna and Child with St. Barbara, St. Omobono and Donor* in bust-length (untraced).[61]

The tailors remained on at the Jesuit church; after the chapel of Barbara was demolished their altar was shifted to the second on the left side of the church.[62]



133. Alberghi of the Scuole dei Botteri and dei Varoteri in Domenico Lovisa, *Campo dei Gesuiti*, 1717 (detail, see fig. 131))

Varoteri

The furriers' guild was another old and wealthy confraternity whose members dealt in pelts of vair, ermine, wolf, rabbit, squirrel, sable, lamb and fox.[63] Their numbers were great during the Renaissance period, with as many as thirty to thirty-four master furriers working at a given time, and many more workers in the trade's various subdivisions.[64] The guild's first *capitolare* was recorded in 1271[65], but when precisely it became associated with the Crociferi church is uncertain. A 1446 *mariegola* entry notes they were celebrating their feast day at the high altar of the church.[66] It also records that on January 6th, 1501 the guild formed an accord with the Crociferi for a patch of land across from the church for the construction of their "scuola".[67] The building of their meetinghouse would have alleviated their need to hold their biannual meetings at the church of San Giovanni di Rialto.[68] The *albergo*, destroyed when the façade of the Jesuit church was extended forward, is visible in Bella's *Giocco di pallone* and in Lovisa's engraving at the opening onto the Fondamenta Nuove (figs. 133-137).[69] The major project to build an *albergo*, and the decorative commissions they would undertake over the course of the Cinquecento were undoubtedly made possible by the amalgamation of three subdivisions of the trade, or *colonnelli* in the late fifteenth century.[70]

The guild participated in a procession to mass at the high altar on their feast day, but also possessed the rights to the altar dedicated to St. Lanfranc beneath the organ on the left side of the church. The furriers were officially dedicated to the Visitation and possessed no connection to Lanfranc, an eleventh-century Pavian bishop and scholar, beyond the fact that they tended the altar beneath which the relic of his head was preserved.[71] Even still, he was the focus of their exquisite Cima da Conegliano altarpiece (fig. 134). It represented St. Lanfranc enthroned, overlooking a delicately rendered landscape, flanked by St. John the Baptist and St. Liberius. Robertson assigned it a date

134. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *St. Lanfranc Enthroned with St. John the Baptist and St. Liberius* (*Varoteri altarpiece*), c. 1515–1516 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

of post 1514, based on the suspicion that it replaced a previous altarpiece lost in the fire that we now know only destroyed the monastery. Since the furrier's altar was on the opposite side of the church, we can be certain that any decoration would have gone unscathed, even if the church had been touched by the blaze in the adjacent cloister. As Humfrey and Menegazzi have both agreed, a date in this range (c. 1515–16) still holds on stylistic grounds.[72] It also makes logistical sense, considering the plans for an *albergo* were still in the early phases in 1501. It seems unlikely that the guild would have been in a position to commission an altarpiece much sooner than 1515. The altar dedication dictated the centrality of Lanfranc, but the Crociferi must have suggested the inclusion of the Crocifero saint, Liberius, to whom the furriers had no connection. Marcantonio Boldù mentioned Liberius in his

135. (left) Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Decollation of John the Baptist* (*Varoteri altarpiece*), c. 1593–1595, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

(right) Giorgio Vasari, *Decollation of John the Baptist*, 1553, San Giovanni Decollato, Rome

discussion of saints venerated by the order, and another life of the saint in Latin was inserted into the Treviso manuscript. Whether or not it was actually the case, Liberius was thought to have been heir to a 5th-century king of Armenia. Legend relates that he gave up the trappings of his royal life to live in poverty as a pilgrim, travelling to sacred locations in Jerusalem and Rome before assuming the Crociferi habit at Ancona.[73] Evidently the city claimed the saint as its co-patron, along with St. Cyriacus, who was considered co-founder of the Crociferi. Liberius is shown to the right of the throne in the Crociferi habit, delicately clutching the silver cross that Pius II had assigned as part of their reformed dress in 1462.[74] The presence of John the Baptist references the guild's dedication to the Visitation, a Marian mystery, but also a part of the narrative of the Baptist's life. One of the *colonnelli* may have carried a dedication to the Baptist when the various branches merged; John, whose attribute was the hair shirt, would have been a particularly fitting choice for furriers.

Less than a century later, the *varoteri* replaced their rather traditional Cima altarpiece with the *Decollation of the Baptist* by Palma il Giovane (fig. 135). In the meantime they had contributed a *Visita-*

136. Carletto Caliari, *The Raising of Lazarus*, late 1590's, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (formerly in the *albergo* of the Scuola dei Varoteri)

tion by Schiavone to the chancel, and had commissioned an *Annunciation* (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice) from the wokshop of Paolo Veronese, as well as a *Raising of Lazarus* by his son, Carletto, both for the *albergo* (fig. 136).[75] As previously noted, the altar was moved to the right side of the church, just in front of the choir.[76] A change in dedication to St. John the Baptist accompanied the transition, although the relic of Lanfranc continued to be preserved on their new altar.[77] Cima's altarpiece was displaced to the choir, where it was recorded in 1648 and 1663, but by 1674 it had been moved to the monastery.[78] Once again, the *varoteri* opted against an altarpiece depicting their main dedication, but included St. Lanfranc and St. Liberius, who stand as anachronistic witnesses to the gory martyrdom. If their first altarpiece had been traditional, Palma's was at the other end of the spectrum, an exemplar of the increasingly ambitious scope of guild commissions during the later part of the century. The violence of John's decollation is emphasised by the dynamic *contrapposto* pose of the brawny executioner, and above all by the foreshortened torso of the headless Baptist. The stump of his neck extends toward to viewer along the central axis of the composition, still gushing blood, as if onto the altar below.[79] The sacrificial message is highlighted by the gesture of Liberius, who directs our gaze to the corpse, and to the lamb beneath the foot of the executioner, calling to mind the Baptist's prophecy of Christ's sacrifice: "Ecce Agnus Dei". The shock of crimson drapery over the shoulder of the central witness accentuates the gore, and carries the eye up to the opening in the upper right corner where Herod's banquet takes place, adding yet another dimension of action and meaning. The handsome saints

bracketing the composition balance the drama of the martyrdom, and are set apart through their placement below the ledge of rusticated stone. Palma removes them both physically and psychologically from the historical narrative as contemplative models meant to engage the viewer. The reader will recall Ridolfi's assertion that Giuliano Cirno and Simone Rossi were cast as Lanfranc and Liberius, and there are other highly individualized faces in the crowd of observers that seem very likely to have been taken from life.[80] The bearded man behind the executioner who meets the viewer's gaze is very close to the one depicted as a Crocifero in the oratory painting of Paul IV. Some have observed (not particularly convincingly) the likeness of Palma in the figure in red to the right of Salome, but he is far more likely a *gastaldo*, honoured for his role in the commission and service to the guild.[81] These visceral and instructive elements combined to form what could be considered an ideal post-Tridentine altarpiece, and indeed, the *Decollation* should be considered amongst Palma's finest works. The thoughtfully arranged composition, the studied anatomy and facial features of the figures, the striking colour harmonies and expertly rendered brocade vestments of Lanfranc are testament to the care invested. For stylistic and logistical reasons, the altarpiece belongs to the early part 1590's, a time at which Palma's manner was marked by greater finish and the nearby choir was renovated.[82]

It has not previously been noticed that the basic composition is heavily reliant on a work of the same subject by Giorgio Vasari that Palma may have seen during his time in Rome in the 1560's (fig. 135). In 1553 Vasari's version had been placed on the high altar of the church of San Giovanni Decollato, the church that was the base for at the Florentine confraternity of the Misericordia, dedicated to preparing prisoners for execution.[83] Palma made an obvious pastiche of the executioner, and of the heavy prison architecture with the barred Serlian window, although it is shifted to the lower register in his own version. The motif of the banquet in the distance, the foreshortened torso and the graceful figures in profile are also echoed in Palma's altarpiece. It is not difficult to imagine why the artist Ridolfi claimed was so drawn to the horror of Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (fig. 157) would have been impressed by Vasari's painting and tempted to borrow from it—even decades later—when asked to produce a work that would hang next to one of the greatest Venetian scenes of martyrdom of all time.

Botteri

The Calle dei Botteri, between the Rialto and San Cassiano, marks what was at one time a locus for the production of the barrel-makers. Their first *capitolare* was approved in 1271, and at that time their devotional activities were based at the lost church of Sant'Agostino.[84] Sometime before 1486, this shifted to the high altar of

137. Alberghi of the Scuole dei Botteri and Varoteri in Gabriel Bella, *Gioco del pallone ai Gesuiti*, ca. 1779-1792, Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Venice (detail) (see also fig. 131)

the church of the Crociferi, where their members celebrated the Feast of the Purification. The move may have been determined by their establishment of an *albergo* directly across from the church, already visible in the Jacopo de' Barbari bird's-eye view around 1500, and more clearly articulated in the Bella and Lovisa depictions of the campo (figs. 133-137).[85]

Although they did not have an altar of their own in the church, the *botteri* still contributed to its ornamentation, as the previous chapters have already demonstrated. They participated in the redecoration of the chancel by commissioning the lateral painting of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* by Tintoretto around 1555, and they were almost certainly the patrons of Palma's lost *Passover* (flanked by prophets). Both the 1656 inventory and Martinioni (1663) describe the painting of "gli Hebrei, che mangiano l'Agnello Pascale, con due Profeti da i lati" on the other side (dall'altra) of the choir facing the high altar, probably near the altar of St. Christopher.[86] We know that they had four *arche* in this area of the church, and that the members were obligated to attend mass there.[87]

When the Jesuits removed the choir, the

Passover was moved to the *albergo* where it joined several other works of art. On the gilded altar was an early Cinquecento *sacra conversazione* of the *Madonna and Child enthroned with St. John the Baptist and St. Augustine* by Ioannis Permeniates that betrays the influence of Bellini and Cima on this immigrant painter from Candia (fig. 138).[88] Boschini admired their *gonfalone* by Alvise dal Friso, "adorno di Architettura in oro, nel mezzo della quale sta sedente la Madonna col Bambino in braccio e dalle parti evvi S. Zaccaria, e Sant'Agostino Vescovo".[89]

At the time of their suppression, a total of seven *quadri* were recorded, including a "Circoncisione", (probably a *Presentation in the Temple*), and a "pala del Perugino" that was almost certainly a wishful attribution.[90]

Scuola della Beata Vergine della Concezione

The devotional confraternity dedicated to the Conception of the Virgin formed an agreement with the Crociferi in January of 1519 to assume the rights of the altar "sotto el barcho".[91] They possessed *arche* in the cloister, where weekly mass was said at the nearby altar used by *scuole* who had burial rights there.[92] Their first inventory in 1527 listed little more than various functional objects and a "Nostra dona con due Anzoletti per banda indoradi" that presumably passed for decoration.[93] Although the 1581 apostolic visitors rarely provided details of decoration, they generally indicated if an altar was ornamented, and if it was remarkable, it was generally described as "ornatissimum", "decentissime", "decenter", or "honorifice". Much of the decoration at the Crociferi church was thus praised, with the exception of this altar, which was simply "ornatum".[94] It seems not to have been decorated in any notable way until later. The next surviving inventory (1707), recorded a painting of the Virgin in a carved and gilded frame on the altar, flanked by two "quadri bislonghi" of saints Lucy and Agatha. Another painting of God the Father was above the capitals of the altar, flanked by an Annunciation, a Nativity and two large gilded angels.[95] In May of 1620 the confraternity elected four members to find "un Pittore sufficiente" to create two paintings they felt were lacking. One would be placed above the *banco* in the church, the other "apresso il nostro altar".[96] In 1684 Martinelli observed "un quadro, dove è figurata la Nascita della Beata Vergine mano di Matteo Ponzone" near to their altar.[97] Inventories of the *beni* of the confraternity in 1707, 1717 and 1729 do list a "Natività della B[eata] V[ergine] vicino al Nostro Altar" that might have been the work of the Dalmatian painter, or perhaps another pupil of Palma.[98] Ridolfi, Martinioni, and Martinelli recorded another work by Ponzone in the church,

138. Ioannis Permeniates, *Madonna and Child enthroned with St. John the Baptist and St. Augustine*, c.1523-1528, Museo Correr, Venice

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a *Meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate*.[99] Martinelli's description placed the work near the Usper chapel and seems to suggest that it contained a self-portrait of the artist:

> "...quadro grande con la Visita di San Gioacchino e Sant'Anna, con il Padre eterno nella gloria del Paradiso, con molti Angeli, che tengono i Simboli della B. V. opera bellissima di Matteo Ponzone; v'è anco il suo Ritratto vestito di rosso, con la Beretta alla mano, & un bastone".

Although its placement at a distance from their altar is slightly puzzling, it seems this painting did belong to the *scuola*. The subject of the Meeting at the Golden Gate was frequently used to reference the Conception of the Virgin, and an inventory of their newly built chapel in the Jesuit church of 1729 records:

> "L'altar nostro dell'Imacolata Concetion in chiesa nella prima Capella all'Evangelio. Due quadri grandi attorno li muri in scuola. Uno con San Gioachino e Sant Anna, è l'altro con la Gloria del Padre Eterno. Il quale era un sol Quadro, che stava sopra il Pulpitto in Chiesa vechia, che ora per comodo si è fatto in due Quadri".[100]

This suggests that the painting was cut in half to fit the new space, and that the Ponzone belonged to the *scuola*.[101] The financial fortunes of the confraternity seem to have improved considerably during the seventeenth century. By 1609 they were able to afford an *albergo*, built into the façade of the monastery, where an inscription on the architrave and a bas-relief Madonna still marks the spot. According to Boschini, their meetinghouse also contained a painted ceiling of "architecture with various and curious ornaments", a work of Simone Gugliemi, and frescoed figures in three compartments by the Milanese painter Federico Cervelli (1623-1700), all lost.[102]

Stampatori & Librai

One of the more interesting documents I uncovered reveals a previously unknown connection between the Crociferi and the guild of the printers and booksellers.[103] A *conventio* between the Crociferi and three representatives of "la Fraterna dellj Stampadori" dated 22 September 1555, established formal guidelines for their relationship.[104] Prior Giuliano Cirno agreed to welcome them into the church to tend to their spiritual and practical business. The guild was allowed to celebrate a low mass every first Sunday of the month, so as to avoid impeding the devotional activities of the already established *scuole*, and consented to accommodate their *capitolo* in "un luoco capace et honorevole". On the first Sunday of the month, the Crociferi would provide a *bancho* in their own *capitolo* for the giving of alms and offered to house a storage

chest for their accessories in the sacristy.

This document serves as further evidence of the concentration of important guilds at the church, and the efforts of the *frati* to attract them. But its value extends even beyond this: it helps to fill a lacuna in the documentation of the history of this guild that has long puzzled scholars. The first printing press arrived in Venice in 1469, and the city soon became a major hub for the European print industry, reaching its peak 1540–1570,[105] yet the trade did not form a corporation until 1549, when a license was granted by the Consiglio dei Dieci to found the *Arte dei stampadori e librai*.[106] More problematic is the nearly twelve-year gap that separates this first mention of a corporation and actual documentation of their existence as a functioning body. The next official record of them has led scholars to conclude that the guild was not effective until 14 May 1567, when the Provveditori di Comun approved the guild's *mariegola*.[107] In its reference to the *fraterna* and *capitolo* of the *stampadori*, this *conventio* of 1555 establishes that by 1567 the group had already been functioning as an organised body for at least twelve years. The wording of the document clearly implies that they were not taking over patronage rights to an altar or chapel within the church, but would instead use a communal space within the church. The *stampadori* must have moved on from the church sometime before 1564, as they are not named in the *condizione* amongst *scuole* present in the church.[108] It is unlikely that the guild ever commissioned works of art to be displayed in the Crociferi church, although if they had, any works would have moved with the group to their eventual seat in the Cappella del Rosario at Santi Giovanni e Paolo, a space that became the most lavish of all *scuole piccole* chapels.

[1] Part of the present chapter was summarized and reworked in Allison Sherman, "La collocazione originale del Martirio di San Lorenzo di Tiziano: la chiesa scomparsa di Chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi", in *La Notte di San Lorenzo: genesi, contesti, peripezie di un capolavoro di Tiziano*, eds. Lionello Puppi and Letizia Lonzi (Crocetta del Montello, TV, 2013), pp. 16–43. See Add. I for the unpublished original English version of the essay.

[2] R. Mackenney, "The Guilds of Venice: State and Society in the Longue Durée" *SV* 34 (1997), 16; R. Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders. The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe* (London, 1987), 16. Mackenney's conclusions are based on Monticolo's extensive study of the statutes registered with the Giustizia, as well as the surviving archives and *mariegole*. The guilds he lists as the oldest were all active at the church of the Crociferi. The tailors were active as early as 1219, the silk-weavers in 1265, the furriers in 1271, the barrel-makers in 1271.

[3] Mackenney, 1987, 7. For example, Santa Maria dell'Ascensione, Santa Maria Formosa and San Giacomo di Rialto.

[4] D. Romano, *Patricians and Popolani* (Baltimore, 1987), 80-1, 108.

[5] S. Chojnacki, "Political Adulthood in Fifteenth-Century Venice" *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 791-810.

[6] Humfrey and Mackenny, 1986, 318.

[7] *Ibid.*, 322.

[8] L. Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore, 2000), xiv, 17.

[9] Mackenney, 1987, 108.

[10] B. Vanin and P. Eleuteri, *Le mariegole della biblioteca del Museo Correr* (Venice, 2007), 14, 35-7, 53. For the *mariegole of the veluderi, tessitori and passamaneri*: BMC, Mariegola 17, 48,49, 50. Comparatively speaking, there is a relatively handsome guild archive, however my research failed to uncover any record of art patronage.

[11] Vio, 2004, 574; Molà, 2000, 162.

[12] (143 × 113 cm) Stringa, 1604, 147. Stringa contended that the altarpiece was in the Zen chapel (*in cornu epistolae),* leading Menegazzi to conclude the same. It was otherwise always recorded in the opposite flanking chapel, suggesting Stringa was mistaken.

[13] Stringa, 1604, 147; Boschini, 1664, 421-2. Both Stringa and Boschini claim the lost work of Lattanzio da Rimini dated to 1499, possibly based on an inscription. The same date is inscribed on the Mansueti *Arrest of St. Mark*, along with the names of ten members charged with the task of overseeing the commission.

[14] Ridolfi, 1648, I, 59; Martinioni, 1663, 169; J. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, *A history of painting in North Italy* (London, 1871), I, 241; R. Burckhardt, *Cima da Conegliano* (Leipzig, 1904), 31; P. Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano* (Cambridge, 1983), 113-14, cat. 71. These paintings were not recorded in the 1656 inventory, and cannot be traced until they sold from the Venetian Schiavone collection to Charles Eastlake in 1854. Crowe and Cavalcaselle associated the pair with the descriptions of the silk-weavers' chapel, prompting a reconstruction of the ensemble by Burckhardt.

Formal and dimensional differences between the altarpiece and the saints led subsequent authors to reject the notion that they belonged together. Humfrey correctly highlights the possibility that the incongruities may simply be due to the fact that the various parts were completed at different times, and were not conceived as a unified triptych.

[15] Humfrey, 1983, 106-108, cat. 59.

[16] Vio, 2004, 579.

[17] Humfrey, 1983, 159-60, cat. 156. It passed to the basilica with several other paintings belonging to the guild in the late eighteenth century. Humfrey suggests it has been cut down from its original form as a lunette, probably once positioned in the vault of a meetinghouse. If so, it would have been designed for the first *albergo* of the silk-weavers at the Crociferi monastery, not their headquarters at the Misericordia, occupied after 1612.

[18] Boschini, 1664, 421-22; Humfrey, 1983, 82-4, cat. 14. It might have been produced slightly earlier than the others, given that Cima's was already working for the guild in 1495.

[19] P. Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1988), 286-7.

[20] Cima clearly knew the Bellini *Annunciation* Miracoli organ shutters (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, 1489).

[21] Humfrey, 1983, 106. "Behold a Virgin shall conceive".

[22] D. Von Hadeln, *Venezianische Zeichnungen des Quattrocento* (Berlin, 1925), 63. Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, n. 741.

[23] Humfrey, 1983, 83-4. Notes fluidity between Cima's composition and Lattanzio's plan for the following scene, which would have formed a piazza with similar buildings behind.

[24] *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797*, ed. S. Carboni (New Haven, 2007), 304-5, cats. 27 and 28.

[25] P. Humfrey, "The Bellinesque Life of St. Mark Cycle for the Scuola Grande di San Marco", *ZfK* 48 (1985), 225-42; Fortini Brown, 1988, 291-5.

[26] V. Botteon and A. Aliprandi, *Intorno alla vita e alle opere di Giovanni Battista Cima* (Conegliano, 1983); Humfrey, 1983, 106-8, cat. 59. "1495 / Laure ... de S. luc... da / uicco e. S. jac.° de S... / e S. jeronimo de ... / e S. piero de ... zudici / .../joan. baptista da / Conegliano fecit".

[27] Fortini Brown, 1988, 265.

[28] Sansovino, 1581, 58v-59r; Boschini, 1664, 467.

[29] Sansovino, 1581, 61r; Stringa, 1604, 147; Ridolfi, 1648, I, 306; Martinelli, 1684, 258; Zanetti, 1733, 384; Zanetti, 1771, 183-4; D. Von Hadeln, *Paolo Veronese* (Florence, 1911), 200; R. Marini in *L'opera completa del Veronese* (Milan, 1968), n. 117; W. R. Rearick, *Tiziano e il disegno veneziano del suo tempo* (Florence, 1976), 162; Pignatti, 1976, I, 131, cat 417; S. Sponza, "L'Adorazione dei pastori già nella chiesa dei Crociferi, ora dei Gesuiti" in *Per una monografia sulla basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo* (Venice, 1996), 130-132. Von Hadeln, Pignatti and Sponza assigned a date of around 1560, and Rearick suggested it

predated 1555. Marini believed it dated to before 1565. The guild's patronage is marked by their monogram on the base of the broken column at the bottom left corner. The cool palette has much in common with other works of around 1560, for example the *Virgin and Child Appearing to St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul* (Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, 1562).

[30] Matham engraving: *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 4, 309. Barri engraving: *Immagine dal Veronese* (exh. cat. Villa Farnesina, Rome, 1978), 46–7.

[31] At that time only two of the early St. Mark cycle remained in the chapel, taking the place of the Veronese.

[32] Molà, 2000, 306–7; Vio, 2004, 588.

[33] Humfrey, 1983, 102, cat. 49. Vio, 2004, 579. From 1357 the *veluderi* enforced a *luminaria* for the celebration of the feast of St. Peter.

[34] Boschini, 1674, 24; Martinelli, 1684, 223. Only the Cima and Mansueti paintings remained.

[35] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72r. "Altare S. Christophori situm sub podio, quod incervit pro choro"..

[36] ASV, PdC, Reg. N, c. 683v; Vio, 2004, 581. In 1352 they also maintained a chapel, presumably a shrine, "in cavo del ponte de Madonna sancta Maria de Crocicheri".

[37] Boldù, 1571, 33r.

[38] ASV, AP, c. 123r. "Una Pala di detto Santo" and "Dui Quadri uno per Parti di detta Pala". Martinelli, 1684, 223. "Passata la porta, che va nel Claustro e v'è la Tavola, con S. Christoforo mano del Palma". Vio, 2004, 582. An inventory of the *scuola* at the time of its suppression in 1764 recorded a *pala* of St. Christopher, perhaps the Palma that had been removed from the church after the Jesuit rebuild. ASV, SPS, S. Cristoforo, B. 340, c. 2r. The 1773 inventory of their altar in the Jesuit church does not mention decoration.

[39] Molà, 2000, 306–7; Tassini, 1824, 182.

[40] Vio, 2004, 588.

[41] BMC, IV, Mariegola 69, cc. 115r, 156v–165r, 194v–200r.

[42] A. Manno, *I mestieri di Venezia* (Cittadella, 1995), 76; Zorzi, 1972, II, 575. The meetinghouse door was closed in 1821.

[43] Gramigna and Perissa, 1981, 108–9; Vio, 2004, 581. The *sartori* hospice was established in 1492. G. Tassini, *Edifici di Venezia distrutti* (Venice, 1885), 176. The *piano superiore of the albergo* dated to the late-fifteenth century.

[44] Palmieri, 1642, 22; Vio, 2004, 581.

[45] C. Cenci, "Giovanni Zambotti da Mantova, Crocifero, patriarca di Grado" *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 19 (1965), 436–465.

[46] G. P. Pacini, "Le reliquie di santa Barbara, di San Giovanni evangelista di Torcello e di santa Barbara della chiesa dei Crociferi di Venezia" in *Floretissima proles ecclesiae* (Trent, 1996), 451; Corner, 1749, II, 180–1.

[47] Palmieri, 1642, 15–20. Palmieri's defence of the Crociferi relics lists the various authors who confirmed their authenticity, including Sanudo, the apostolic visitors, Jacopo de Voragine, and Sansovino. Barbara was made official protector of the

whole order at the 1462 Capitolo Generale in Mantua: "Dall'essempio della città di Venetia che per Protetrice Santa Barbara rese, anco la Crocifera fece lo stesso" and ordered "la commemoratione e suffragii cosi di Santa Barbara... come di San Cleto lor fondatore & della santissima Croce". AST, *Mss.474*, c. 567v-568r. In 1581 Venice made a diplomatic gift of a rib from the Crociferi body to the Duke of Mantua. Three Venetian Crociferi, Jacopo Antonio Boldù, Lauro Badoer and Giuliano Valier purveyed it to Mantua, where Cardinal Borromeo and the city's clergy processed the relic to a chapel built by the duke in the church of St. Barbara and Badoer preached "con amiratione universale".

[48] C. Pesaro, *Croniche de Trasporti con la vita e miracoli di S. Barbara* (Venice, 1636). Sister Cornelia Pesaro published the rival account in 1630 (reprinted 1636, 1658). It relates an earlier translation to the ducal chapel in 1069, then to the convent as a gift from Doge Pietro Orseolo, whose daughter was *abbadessa*.

[49] Tassini, 1882, 580.

[50] ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni, Reg. 17, f. 36v. November 26, 1467. "cum solemnitatibus solitis ad ecclesiam Cruciferorum, die IIII mensis decembris, et honorare corpus S. Barbare, transducendum de loco solito in quadam honorata capella, fabricata illi beato corpori in ecclesia predicta".

[51] Palmieri, 1642, 22.

[52] *Santità a Venezia*, eds. A. Niero, G. Musolini, S. Tramontin (Venice, 1972), 220.

[53] Sansovino, 1581, 60v.

[54] Palmieri, 1642, 10. "...una Capella superbissima tutta incrostata di marmi Parij".

[55] ASV, Arti, B. 505, c.1v; ASV, AP, c.124v. The 1729 inventory specifies that the stone reliquary had "portelle di rame dorate". Both the body and effigy were recorded in a 1641 guild inventory, and in the 1656 inventory, the former noting that "un figura grande di Santa Barbara sta sopra la cassa continuamente".

[56] Martinelli, 1684, 222. The seicento painter Prudenti is best known for the votive painting he produced for the inauguration of the basilica of Santa Maria della Salute.

[57] ASV, Arti, B. 505.

[58] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 7; Boschini, 1664, 425; Zanetti, 1771, 130; ASV, Arti, B. 505, Inventory 1729. Zanetti praised its small figures "piene di spirito", providing some impression of scale. All three authors assign the frieze to Tintoretto's early career, when he had ties to the shop of Bonifacio. P. Cottrell, "Bonifacio Veronese and the young Tintoretto" *Inferno: St Andrews Journal of Art History* 4 (1997), 25-8. Cottrell argues that an autograph work by Tintoretto in a private collection in Turin (Pallucchini and Rossi, 1962, I, 139, cat. 56) might have formed a part of the cycle. Once identified as the obscure subject of the Martyrdom of St. Eurosia, Cottrell convincingly suggests it is more likely the martyrdom of St. Barbara at the hands of her father on the edge of a mountain, as in the *Golden Legend*. The arrangement of the composition and

the absence of her traditional attributes may indicate that this was part of a series. Bonifacio produced the *albergo* altarpiece in 1533 [Fig. 120], but the frieze must date to a later phase, particularly if Cottrell's thesis about the Turin picture—a more mature effort than Tintoretto would have been capable of in the early 1530's—holds. There is no reason to assume the frieze was commissioned with the Bonifacio painting, and such a guild commission fits with Tintoretto's activity in the early 1540's when he worked for several *arti*. A date in the early 1540's is consistent with the time frame in which the early authors place the work (along with his activity as a fresco painter), and the dimensions of the painting (50 × 40 cm) make sense for something described as a "fregio" or "friso". The comments of the inspector of public paintings suggest that the scenes were separate, lending further support to Cottrell's hypothesis. ASV, Arti, B. 505. The 1729 inventory is the first in the guild archive to mention the frieze: "Un friso di pittura rappresentate la vita di santa Barbara a torno della scolla da basso si dice del Tintoretto". ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, B. 909. The frieze was still in place in 1773 when the inspector of public pictures described it: "Alcuni quadri con Istoriette della vita di S. Barbara dipinti da Giaco Tintoretto nella sua prima gioventà". In 1796-7 Inspector Maggiotto considered them "assai pregiudicati" and felt they merited restoration. Zorzi, 1972, II, 575. It was among a few of the things salvaged from the *albergo* following the suppression of the guild in 1816, but nothing is known of its fate.

[59] ASV, Arti, B. 505, Inventory 1729. "Il soffitto da Basso in scolla con pitura Rapresentante nel mezo il Padre etterno et nel contorno li quatro evangelisti et li quatro dottori di santa chiesa si dice della scolla di Tiziano". Schulz, 1968, 91. The remains of the ceiling were brought to the Domanial deposits following the guild's suppression and were attributed to Damiano Mazza. The remaining works (the Padre Eterno, Jerome, and the Evangelists, save Luke) are in the Gallerie dell'Accademia.

[60] Ridolfi, 1648, I, 272; Boschini, 1674, 15; Zanetti, 1771, 124. ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, B. 909, 122.

[61] The painting was evidently large and hung on the second floor of the *albergo*. ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, B. 909, 1773. "Il Quadro con la B.V. S. Barbara, S. Omobono e un ritratto in profillo: mezze figure dipinte da Giorgione di Castel Franco". Boschini (1664) first identified the work as a Giorgione and Zanetti repeated the attribution in 1773 and 1792. Possibly following Boschini, the guild recorded the work in their 1707, 1718 and 1729 inventories as "un quadro grande... di mano di Giorgione". Suida wrote that he had seen this painting in a private collection, but fails to specify where, only noting a copy in the Mather collection at Princeton. He viewed it as a work of the young Titian, which could easily have been the case. W. Suida, "Miscellanea Tizianesca-IV" *AV* 13-14 (1959-60), 62-67.

[62] ASV, PSMsupra, Chiesa, B. 188, fasc. 2.

proc. 358.

[63] B. Cecchetti, *La vita dei Veneziani nel 1300: le veste* (Venice, 1886), 80.

[64] Romano, 1987, 80–3.

[65] Monticolo, 1905, 99; Mackenney, 1987, 16.

[66] Vio, 2004, 758; BMC, Mariegola 18. Vanin and Eleuteri, 2007, 15, n. 18. Extracts in ASV, Arti, B. 719, n. 30III, c. 2r. "Che ogn'anno nel giorno della Visitatione si faccia cantar una messa nella chiesa di Crosichieri, et tutti li fratelli siano tenuti di venirvi, et farsi dar la luminaria dal Gastaldo".

[67] ASV, Art, B. 719, c. 3.r. "Concession d'un luogo per fabricar la Schola di Varotari, fatta 1501. a di. 6 Zenaro per lo R[everen]do Padre Fra Archangelo di Cremaschi General et maestro di tutto l'ordine di Crocichieri et Prior de Madonna Santa Maria di Vinetia coll'intervento de tutto il capitolo".

[68] Romano, 1987, 80–1.

[69] ASV, Arti, B. 724. In 1724 an agreement was reached between the members of the guild and the Jesuits for the relocation and rebuilding of their *albergo* in campo Santa Margherita, at the Jesuits' expense. Their replacement *albergo* is still marked by a 1511 relief of the Madonna with furrier *committenti*, brought from the original location.

[70] Cecchetti, 1886, 78.

[71] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 71v. "Altare S. Allafranchi Archiepiscopi cantavariensis consecratum situm sub organo; in reliquis decenter ornatum", and under the list of relics: "Caput s Lanfrachi".

[72] Fitzwilliam Museum, no. M. 16, 145.1 × 129.9 cm. Humfrey, 1983, 90–1, cat. 30; L. Menegazzi, *Cima da Conegliano* (Treviso, 1981), 52 and 131. Based on stylistic proximity to the Brera *St. Peter Enthroned*, 1516 (Humfrey, 1983, 119, cat. 80). At some point the altarpiece was altered in size, possibly to facilitate its relocation to the choir or the convent; the area above each of the flanking saints was reduced, along with part of the throne below St. Lanfranc (later restored). Humfrey suggests it might also have contained a musician angel and perhaps an inscription recorded in 1745 by F. A. Zaccaria (*Johannis Baptistae Coneglianensis opus*) on the base of the throne or a *cartellino*.

[73] Boldù, 1571, 32v; AST, Mss. 474; G. Speciali, *Notizie istoriche de' santi protettori della città d'Ancona*, 1759, 154–8.

[74] The darkening of the blue of the habit led Boschini to mistake the saint for Benedict, just as the obscure bishop Lanfranc has been confused with Ambrose.

[75] *Raising of Lazarus*: Ridolfi, 1648, I, 343; L. Crosato Larcher, "Per Carletto Caliari" *AV* 21 (1967), 120. Ridolfi: "fu delle opere vicino il fine della vita e delle sue più studiose". Vio, 2004, 579; Zorzi, 1972, II, 578. When the furriers were suppressed in 1808, inspector Pietro Edwards recorded an altarpiece and thirteen paintings in their *albergo*, two of which were considered "di pregio".

[76] ASV, AP, c. 123r. In 1656 the Palma was *in situ*: "Una Pala di detto S. Giovanni a mano del Palma". Traditionally there has been some confusion over where the

guild's altar actually was, in part due to the shift of location, but also because the Jesuits moved the Palma to hang above Aliense's *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* on the first altar on the right (Boschini, 1674, 12; Martinelli, 1684, 223) and converted the altar dedication to Francis Xavier. It is now in the sacristy.

[77] ASV, AP, c. 123v.

[78] Ridolfi, 1648, I, 59; Martinioni, 1663, 168; Boschini, 1674, 15; F. A. Zaccaria, *Excursis literarii per Italiam ab anno 1742-1752* (Venice, 1754). Boschini noted its relocation from the choir to a room in the convent. Zaccaria recorded it there in 1746, but it was gone by 1803 when Federici (1803, I, 223) marked the disappearance of the picture once "sopra le scale". It was probably removed after the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773. It surfaced in the Brinsley Marlay collection, and passed to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1912 [*Catalogue of Paintings in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, eds. G. Robertson and J.W. Goodison (Cambridge, 1977), 36-8].

[79] The torso and executioner, as well as the banquet scene in the distance are very similar in Palma's version of the subject once at Santa Caterina in Crema (1620). Mason- Rinaldi, 1984, 79, cat. 51.

[80] As Zava-Boccazzi has argued, Pallucchini's suggestion that Palma had actually cast his artistic forbearers Titian and Tintoretto in the guise of these saints is highly unlikely, not only because there would have been very little cause for him to have done so, but also because of obvious physiognomic differences compared to known portraits of the artists. See: R. Pallucchini, *Pittura veneziana del Seicento* (Padua, 1959/60), I, 22; Zava- Boccazzi, 1965, 297-8.

[81] Mason-Rinaldi, 1984, 164, D. 198. The preparatory drawing (Albertina, Vienna) confirms the witnesses within the narrative portion were an afterthought, suggesting they were in fact portraits. On the self-portrait: Suzuki, 1996, 231.

[82] W. Arslan, "Jacopo Palma il Giovane" in *Thieme-Becker, Allg. Lexikon der bildenden Kuenstler* 26 (1932), 176. Arslan saw the painting as contemporaneous with the sacristy works of 1592-3, and Zava Boccazzi concurred (1965, 298). Mason-Rinaldi, 1984, 127. Dated the work to after 1610, based on Stringa's failure to recognize the hand of Palma, an artist who should have been familiar to him. Stringa noted its proximity to the door "che getta in convento", just where the altar of San Giovanni (St. John the Baptist) was located. It seems unlikely that between 1581 and 1603 the *varoteri* would have replaced the Cima with another painting, only to turn around and replace it with the Palma.

[83] L. Corti, *Giorgio Vasari* (Florence, 1989), 80, cat. 60.

[84] Monticolo, 1905, 397; Gramigna and Perissa, 1981, 108; Vanin and Eleuteri, 2007, 30-1, 81-2. BMC, Mariegola 40, 41, 116. Three *mariegole* survive at the Correr, however they make little mention of decoration.

[85] Zorzi, 1972, II, 546. Demolished in 1847.

[86] ASV, AP, c. 125r. "Dall'altra parti del Cho-

ro verso l'Altar maggiore... Una Pittura dell'Angil Pasqual di mano dil Palma". Martinioni, 1663, 169; Albrizzi, 1740, 164-5.

[87] BMC, Mariegola 41, cc. 88-9 (March 8, 1550); BMC, Mariegola 116, cc. 102v-103v.

[88] The presence of Augustine is connected to their previous devotional interests at the church of Sant'Agostino. He was also the patron saint of brewers, who did share a connection to these makers of casks. For Permeniates, active in Venice 1523-8: A. Lymberopoulou, "Audiences and markets for Cretan Icons" in *Viewing Renaissance art*, eds. K. Woods, et. al. (New Haven, 2007), 201-2.

[89] Boschini, 1674, 16.

[90] Vio, 2004, 574-5.

[91] ASV, PdC, Reg. O, c. 309r-v; ASV, SPS, BVC, B. 196, 1r.

[92] Honofri, 1682, 164-6. It was decorated with a Christ "di bellissima scoltura fatto di pietra".

[93] BMC, Mariegola 58, c. 7.

[94] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 71v. "Altare conceptionis B. Maria consecratum et ornatum in omnibus situm sub choro".

[95] ASV, SPS, BVC, B. 196, 1r.

[96] ASV, PdC, Reg. O, c. 325v.

[97] Martinelli, 1684, 222.

[98] Boschini, 1674, 13; Zorzi, 1972, II, 550; Mason-Rinaldi, 1984, 176, cat. A.117. When the *scuola* was suppressed a *Nativity of the Virgin* considered by Boschini to belong to the Palma *bottega* was salvaged (now in the Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Venice).

[99] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 273; Martinioni, 1663, 169; Boschini, 1664, 526; Martinelli, 1684, 222. Boschini: "Là se vede la man San Gioachin; Dar a Sant'Ana, in ato de sposarla; Ogni figura veramente parla".

[100] ASV, SPS, BVC, B. 196, c. 11r. Inventories of 1707 and 1717 record a "quadro grande" above the pulpit where their *banco* was located, but it is identified as a "Visitazione della Beata Vergine". ASV, PdC, Reg. O, cc. 328v-329r, 332r-333v. Initially the confraternity occupied the chapel *in cornu evangeli* in the Jesuit church.

[101] Prijatelj, 1970, 61.

[102] Boschini, 1674, Canareggio, 12; Tassini, 1885, 124; Zorzi, 1972, II, 550; Gramigna and Perissa, 1981, 109.

[103] This document is not mentioned in Brown's exhaustive review of documentary evidence regarding the Venetian print industry, or in any subsequent study. H. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press* (London, 1841).

[104] ASV, NA, Fiume, B. 5698, cc. 36v-38r. This is the only surviving document registered on behalf of the Crociferi by Fiume, who was a favoured notary of printers such as the Giunti, Michele Tramezzino and the Dalmatian printmaker Martino Rota. See App. IX.

[105] J. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, 1998), 14.

[106] Vio, 2004, 184.

[107] Brown, 1841, 241-249; Vanin and Eleuteri, 2007, 85; Vio, 2004, 184; G. B. Salvioni, *L'arte della stampa nel Veneto. La corporazione dei librai e stampatori in Venezia* (Padua, 1879).

[108] ASV, SDC, B. 33, n. 173.

6

Private Patronage

Patronage in Renaissance Venice revolved around "communities of the sacred" that were linked by blood or by fraternal bonds.[1] Monasteries were particularly attractive loci for these communities because they were perceived as places where the work of God was done. Individuals, families and confraternities viewed proximity to the divine as crucial in life, and particularly in death. Previous chapters have established that the Crociferi benefited from the advocacy of many elite patrons, many of them acting in the role of lay procurator. This discussion will provide a clearer sense of a clustering or interconnectivity between many of these families. In a city where spirituality was very much linked to social and economic concerns, and where dynasties were formed and promoted through kinship and marriage, this was perhaps bound to be the case.

Patronage of a church was established through three categories of benevolence: the provision of land, financial participation in the building of a church, or the patronage of an altar or chapel. We have already seen how longstanding ties between the Crociferi and the Zen and Gussoni families resulted from early donations of property and finances, and how the church was built with the practical and financial assistance of Alvise Dardani. The following pages will elaborate on the third category of patronage at the church.

139. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (detail, see fig. 157)

Alvise Dardani and Ludovico Usper

Like many of the private patrons who were drawn to the monastery, Dardani was an intellectual. He was friend to humanists such as Johannes Britannicus, Giorgio Merula and Buccardus, and his own writings, a quite astonishing defence of women in the *volgare*, was published posthumously in 1554.[2] Having been associated with the Crociferi for the better part of his life, as *sindacus* in 1446, and having overseen, and perhaps even contributed financially to the rebuilding project as lay procurator, Dardani chose to be buried at the church in his 1504 testament.[3] Dardani would not have been aware of the illustrious position he was to assume at the end of his life. He entered into political life rather late, but with great success.[4] He was instrumental in securing the allegiance of the citizens of Padua to the Republic during the Italian wars as *provveditore* of Mirano in 1509, a role generally not assigned to a member of the citizen class.[5] He was so beloved that in December 1510, even though he was not initially considered a leading candidate, he was elected Grand Chancellor—the highest possible office a *cittadino* could achieve—with 1363 of about 1400 votes.[6] This powerful role allowed a member of a generally excluded portion of the population a chance to voice an opinion in government, albeit only vocally. In ceremonial terms, the Grand Chancellor was second only to the doge and the Procuratori di San Marco, processing directly behind them in a place of prestige.[7] This is highlighted in Sanudo's description of Dardani's funeral in March of 1511, days after he succumbed to an injury suffered the year before in a conflict near Padua. Dressed in official regalia, his body was taken by solemn state procession to Santi Giovanni e Paolo, where it reposed beneath a tall baldacchino. From there it was placed in "la chiesa de li crosechieri, in la sua archa et capella fu ha far per lui".[8] Dardani's testament and Sanudo's entry confirm that Dardani was buried in the church in a chapel that was undoubtedly incorporated into the design of the church he had helped bring to completion. Thanks to an eighteenth-century family history, his letters and several funeral orations, quite a lot is known about Dardani's life, but almost nothing was known about his final resting place, not even where it was located in the church.[9] Palferio recorded the funerary inscription, but failed to note its location, nor was it mentioned in guidebooks or the apostolic visit.[10] The 1564 *condizione* and 1656 inventory confirm that a weekly mass continued to be given on his behalf, as per his *mansonaria*.[11] The only chapel for which patronage rights remained unclear was the first on the left of the nave. The 1656 inventory listed it as the "Altar dell'Annontiata dell'Uspir", and Martinioni recorded that the chapel belonged to one Ludovico Usper, one of the first Avvocati del Foro (fig. 140). Since only members of the *cittadini ordinarii* class could serve in this position, Tassini's valuable manuscript compendium of *cittadino* families seemed likely to yield further

[1] Chapel, Zen Family
Wooden Pietà

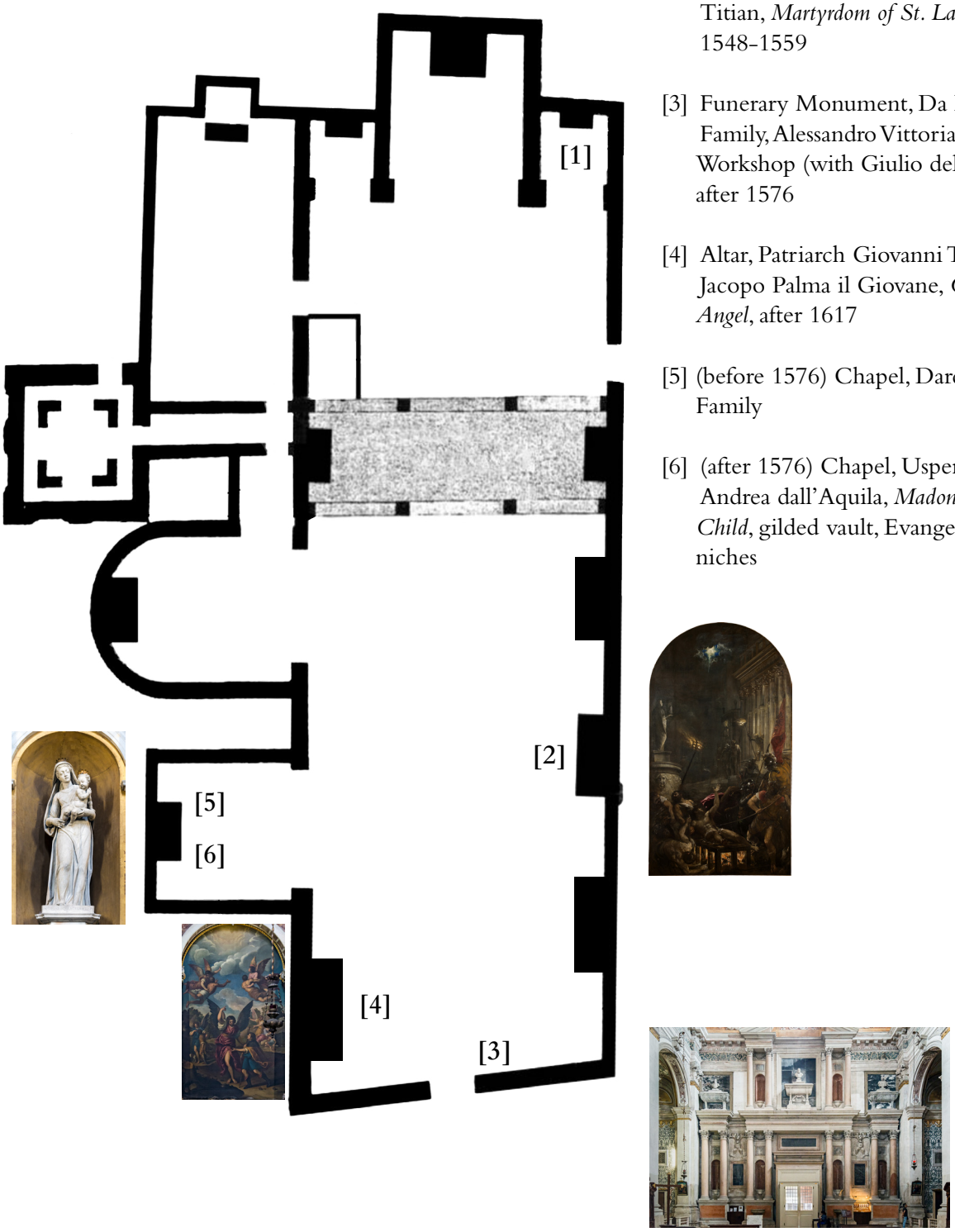
[2] Altar, Massolo-Querini Family
Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1548-1559

[3] Funerary Monument, Da Lezze Family, Alessandro Vittoria and Workshop (with Giulio del Moro), after 1576

[4] Altar, Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo
Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Guardian Angel*, after 1617

[5] (before 1576) Chapel, Dardani Family

[6] (after 1576) Chapel, Usper Family
Andrea dall'Aquila, *Madonna and Child*, gilded vault, Evangelists in niches



140. Floorplan of the Church of the Crociferi with locations of altars and chapels of private patrons (Allison Sherman – Carlo Corsato)

clues. Indeed, he made one notation about a Ludovico Usper: "1587: compera l'arca dei Dardani ai Crociferi. Egli testò nel 1600 24 febbraio in atti Antonio Calegarini".[12] Although I found no trace of any such purchase of the chapel in the *atti* or *minute* of Calegarini, my research did uncover a detailed inventory of Palazzo Usper at San Stae.[13] Amongst the personal papers listed in the inventory was "un'istromento 1576 20 febbraio, concesione della capella di Crosechieri" and "scritture circa la mansonaria di crosechieri".[14] The testaments of Usper and his wife, Elena, confirm their desire to be buried in their "archa alli Crocecchieri", and note their bequests of in excess of 1,000 ducats for the celebration of masses each week, and on the feasts of St. Lawrence and St. Helena "nilla nostra cappella".[15] Thus, it seems that around 1576 Ludovico Usper purchased the rights to the chapel that had belonged to Alvise Dardani. Sometime after 1581 and before his death in 1601, Us-

141. (left) Andrea dall'Aquila, *Madonna and Child*, after 1581–before 1603, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice (formerly in the Usper Chapel)

142. (right) Jacopo Sansovino, *Madonna and Child*, early 1530s, Cleveland Museum of Art

143. Alessandro Vittoria, *Emperors in stucco*, late 1570's, Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza

per furnished the chapel with sumptuous decoration.[16] Stringa recorded:

> "Questa cappella e veramente di molta spesa, poiche è tutta di viva pietra con tutto l'altare fabricata. Vi è per pala in un gran nicchio la figura della Beata Vergine scolpita in marmo di Andrea Aquila Trentino (fig. 141). Vi sono altre sei figure in tanti nicchi, due vicine desta, quattro ambi i lati, due per lato, che sono i quattro Evangelisti. I lavori poscia, i parimenti, i corniciamenti, le colonne, il soffitto che è fatto di stucco & messo ad oro, con certe pitture, adornano non poco questa cappella".[17]

Usper's body reposed in a "bellissima sepoltura" in the middle of the chapel.

I know of no other such Venetian chapel adorned quite in this way, with orders of architecture, sculpture, painting and gilded stucco, which is why it is so regrettable that only the Madonna by Andrea dall'Aquila survives.[18] As a primarily sculptural chapel, it would have provided a rich complement to the marble-encrusted neighbouring chapel of St. Barbara. There is reason to believe that the project was executed by the shop of Alessandro Vitto-

ria, not only because Stringa attributes the Madonna to his first pupil and nephew, or because the description of gilded stucco and architectural elements evokes an image of something very much in line with what his shop could produce, but because of his previous associations with both the Crociferi and Usper.[19] Amongst Vittoria's papers, which passed with his *commissaria* to San Zaccaria, a document of 1560 records money he is owed for a "chiave di volta a forma di testa" for Palazzo Usper, establishing very early contact with the *bottega*.[20] The inventory of Usper's home provides further insight into his patronage of art.[21]

Like many of the Crociferi patrons, Usper was learned; the inventory of his mezzanine library consumed twelve pages, attesting to his broad interest in Latin and Italian works of history, religion, philosophy, science and music. A handsome inlaid cabinet of walnut and ebony contained the Crociferi "scritture", as well as a collection of bronze figures.[22] He owned globes and framed maps of the world that hung in the entrance to his palazzo. His possession of a harpsichord points to his interest in music, which is further evinced by his patronage of the Istrian composer and organist, Francesco Sponza (1560-1641), a pupil of Andrea Gabrieli.[23] Over fifty religious and allegorical paintings were recorded in various parts of the palazzo, all in gilded frames. In one room there were twelve heads of Emperors in *stucco*, presumably a frieze, which brings to mind Vittoria's busts of Roman historical characters executed in the Sala dei Principi of Palazzo Thiene (fig. 143). Additionally, there were four oval *quadri*, four others by Palma, and a bronze Madonna by Jacopo Sansovino (fig. 142).[24] The *portego*, the most important public room in the house, was filled with paintings of twenty *huomini illustri*, sibyls, Mercury, Ariadne, Adonis, Fortune, and "una donna col specchio in mano". There were also two pairs of pendant portraits of Usper and his consort, common in mainland homes, but rather rare in Venetian *porteghi*.[25] In the *camera d'oro*, in the "nappa del camin", was "una testa di marmo del clarissimo signor Usper con il suo piede sotto indoradi", bringing to mind a similar arrangement over the fireplace of Palazzo Contarini delle Figure, attributed to the Vittoria shop. Clearly a humanist occupied the palazzo at San Stae; Usper was a major patron of art and a connoisseur of sculpture in particular, which may explain why he opted for a sculptural chapel. He was probably also a repeat customer of Vittoria and pupils such as Andrea dall'Aquila, who took on increased responsibility in the shop after about 1581, shortly after Usper acquired the chapel. Given Usper's obvious interest in bronzes, I wonder if the evangelists in niches Stringa mentioned might be associated with the preparatory terracotta evangelists attributed to Vittoria in the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 144). At

144. (clockwise from top left) Alessandro Vittoria, *The Evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John*, c. 1580, Art Institute, Chicago

just under 60 cm (and dated to c.1580), they would have been of ideal dimensions for the purpose described.[26] Although precious little has been handed down regarding the specifics of the decoration of the chapel in its two incarnations, what knowledge has been gained about its *cittadini* patrons conforms to what we already know about the sort of supporters the Crociferi were attracting: wealthy, learned individuals with particular interest in literature and/or music who were willing and able to provide exquisite decoration.

The Zen Family

As previously outlined, it was the early support of doge Renier Zen that really put the Crociferi on the map. Beyond his advocacy, Zen furnished his preferred church with a number of enduring gifts, including the body of St. Barbara, which was given to the Crociferi at the behest of the doge who clearly understood the potency of relics. It was during his dogate that two major aspects of the Marcian legend were revived: the *praedestinatio*, or legend of the destiny of Mark's body to rest in Venice, and the *apparitio*, the miraculous rediscovery of the misplaced relics.[27] The Zen bequest established the Crociferi hospital, facilitated its survival, and provided for decoration in the oratory and the church, and Renier's support also cemented his family's devotion to the monastery for centuries to come.

The particularly ardent devotion of the Cinquecento descendants of Renier has already been partially elucidated. As lay procurators and benefactors they continued to support the Crociferi, something that surely must have contributed to the thriving cultural atmosphere of the monastery.[28] It was Pietro Zen (q. Caterino, 1457–1539), who really took up the Crociferi cause, something that his son, Caterino, and grandson Nicolò would perpetuate. In 1520 Pietro bestowed a "veste" given to him by "Su[lei]m[an]o Gran Signor" upon the Crociferi[29], and sometime after 1538 he founded a family burial chapel in the church. His wishes were articulated in a testament written the year before he died at 86, en route to the east to take up the position of Oratore al Sultano. He stipulated:

> "Voglio che'l me sia fabricà una capella ala Chiesia di Crosechieri et speso fina ala suma de ducati 500; al qual lasso el mio calese et patena d'arzento dorado; item li lasso el mio bel mesal et una dele mie pianede, la più rica, et che'l sia vendudo una altra, la più bella, et sia comprà zambeloti negri a far una per l'officio da morti; et li laso li mei 4 pezi de razo del triompho de Cesaro per el suo adornamento li zorni festivi".[30]

Both Sansovino and the apostolic visitors recorded a Zen chapel *in cornu epistolae* in 1581, dedicated to the Holy Cross, a choice that probably had more to do with the devotional interests of the Crociferi (fig. 140).[31] Little is known about this chapel

145. Alessandro Vittoria, *Bust of Pietro Zen*, c.1583-1585, Seminario Patriarcale, Venice

beyond the fact that it existed. An inscription still preserved in the chapel occupying the same location in the Gesuiti confirms that Pietro and his son Caterino were buried there.[32] My own research revealed that a previously unidentified daughter of Pietro, Lucrezia, expressed her wish to be buried in her father's "monumento", but as early as 1535, suggesting Pietro had such plans even before his own testament stipulated for its construction.[33] Documents of 1658 recording the transfer of responsibilities for the chapel and masses to the Jesuit suggest that his wishes were carried out in 1544.[34]

It has never been clear if the chapel was decorated. While Pietro had left instructions for his palazzo to be adorned with frescoes celebrating his ancestors, he provided no specifications for the decoration of his chapel. Guidebooks and family histories remain mysteriously silent on the issue, and the 1656 inventory lists only: "Una statua di legno della Madonna con nostro Sig^re in braccio vestita, et con un faciol di cassetta di passemano d'oro guarnito", which presumably decorated the altar.[35] A bust of Pietro by Alessandro Vittoria was recorded there by Cicogna, which has been tentatively identified with a posthumous terracotta now in the Seminario Patriarcale (fig. 145).[36] Dario's suggestion that it was contained within a niche adorned with frescoes depicting scenes from the life of Renier is an error that persists from a misreading of documents pertaining to the lost funerary monument to the Zen doge at Santi Giovanni e Paolo.[37] In fact, the grandiose nature of Renier's monument is one of several reasons why it is puzzling that this chapel never seems to have received any notable ornamentation. This was a family that knew something about grandeur. To Zen's dogate we owe the present splendour of San Marco; he had the domes raised and trophies, including Dandolo's Quadriga, placed on the façade. Renier's vast wealth allowed him to raise one of the most ostentatious ducal monuments in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, a tomb raised on consoles beneath an architectural canopy, all gilded, polychromed and topped with a Crucifixion. It was surrounded by

146. Antonio and Tullio Lombardo, *Chapel of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zen*, 1504-1521, Basilica di San Marco, Venice

grillwork of wood and iron and set against a backdrop of gold, lapis and frescoed scenes of the doge's life.[38] Pietro's cousin, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zen, used his influence and finances from his astonishing 119,000 ducat estate—of which Pietro was executor and a beneficiary—to secure the southwest corner of San Marco for his burial chapel, which was opulently decorated with a cast bronze canopy and bronze *Madonna and Child with St. Mark and St. John the Baptist* by Antonio and Tullio Lombardo (1504-1521) (figs. 146).[39] As previously noted, Pietro and his heirs were patrons of art and architectural enthusiasts.[40] The family had a *studio d'anticaglie* praised by Sansovino, owned paintings by the Bellini, Pordenone, Bonifacio, Tin-

147. View of Palazzo Zen from the Rio di Santa Caterina (see also fig. 53)

toretto and others, and they were occupied with the reconstruction of the family palazzo from c.1530–1566 (fig. 147). This project was executed to the design of Pietro's son, Francesco, which was allegedly filtered through Sebastiano Serlio.[41] Francesco did not live to see the building complete, predeceasing his father by about a year. So passionate was this architectural aficionado that he stipulated that his funeral procession include the workers, masons, carpenters and stonecutters engaged in the construction, accompanied by Serlio and the foreman Innocenzo Lombardo. He was buried at the now-destroyed church of San Cristoforo della Pace in a chapel founded as per his testament.[42]

The Zen had much to celebrate. Pietro had enjoyed a long career in service to the Republic, as would many of his heirs.[43] Like many patrician families of the Cinquecento, they were also clearly conscious of their ancestry, which could be traced back to ancient Rome and the imperial families of Trebizond and Persia.[44] A desire to celebrate lineage is evinced by Pietro's request that the façade of the palazzo be frescoed with the exploits of his great-uncle, Carlo, and by the mosaic of Renier, also at the palazzo.[45] Nicolò, who was a

148. Alessandro Vittoria and Workshop (with Giulio del Moro), *Monument to Priamo, Giovanni and Andrea da Lezze*, after 1576, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

major player in urban renewal, celebrated his family in written form, chronicling the voyages to the North Pole of his late trecento ancestor, Antonio, as well as the Venetian Turkish war in which Pietro had been an instrumental negotiator. Nicolò also composed an unpublished manuscript (c. 1540) in praise of Pietro's diplomacy.[46] For a family so engaged with the spirit of *renovatio*, with a clear understanding of the role of architecture in the "formazione di imperio e fama veneziane",[47] and with the means and desire to celebrate their lineage, it is more than odd that the chapel was so modestly equipped. I can only surmise that a few factors prevented the chapel from receiving decoration. Perhaps Zen finances were tied up in the long process of renovating the family palazzo, as it dragged on throughout the last decade of Pietro's life, was still in progress after Caterino's death, and was finally brought to completion (however not without creating internal familial strife) by Nicolò, who also provided finances for the rebuilding of the Crociferi hospital.[48] Although he was a Crociferi procurator, Nicolò resigned this post on bad terms in 1554, and ultimately opted for burial on the façade of Santi Giovanni e Paolo along with another Crociferi lay protector, Stefano Tiepolo.[49] The choice can be seen as another example of consciousness of illustrious ancestry, and of the clustering of elite families. Both the Zen and Tiepolo had ancient claims to the basilica, and shared a desire to repose in the more stately location with more obvious civic connotations. Nicolò was also a

149. Alessandro Vittoria, *Bust of Priamo da Lezze*, c. 1566–1568 (detail, fig. 148)

major proponent of the rejection of magnificence, and as his aforementioned treatise stressed, he believed that great powers began "without pomp, without concern for vainglory or needless expenses".[50] Perhaps for Pietro's grandson, elaborate burial chapels fell into the category of needless expense and excessive pomp.

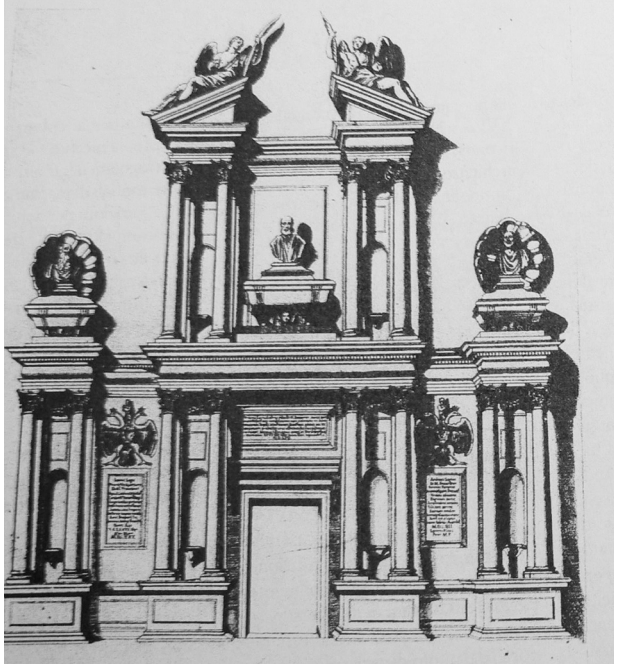
The Da Lezze Family

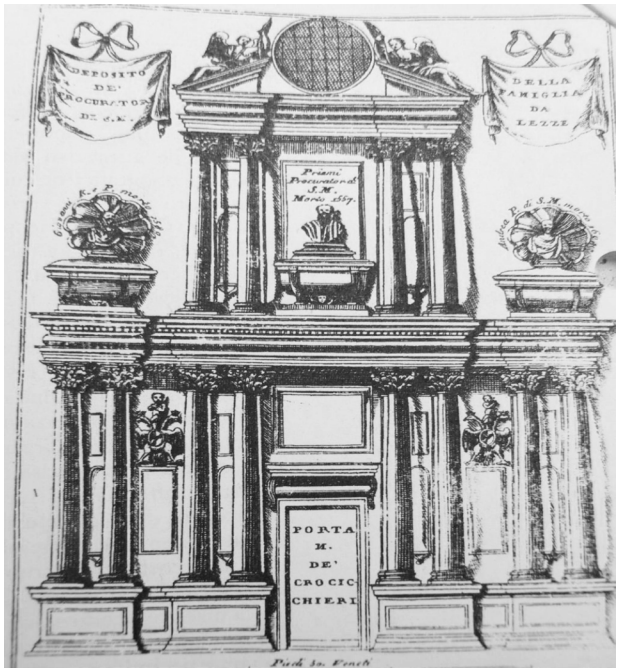
What the Zen chapel apparently lacked in grandeur was made up for in the impressive architectural funerary monument to Priamo, Giovanni and Andrea da Lezze, complete with marble sepulchres topped with busts by Alessandro Vittoria (Priamo)

150–151. Giulio del Moro, (left) *Bust of Giovanni da Lezze*; (right) *Bust of Andrea da Lezze* (details, fig. 148)

and Giulio del Moro (Giovanni) and *bottega* (Andrea) (figs. 69, 148–151). The Da Lezze monument is one of the few fragments of the Crociferi church to survive more or less intact in the Gesuiti. If the engravings of the monument by Anton Francesco Lucini (1657, Museo Correr) and Vincenzo Coronelli (1709, Museo Correr) predating the destruction of the church can be trusted, this monument provides a useful scale by which we can envision the dimensions of the original counter façade (figs. 152–153). Coronelli's rendering accounts for an oculus window, visible in Palma's depiction of the façade, around which the pediment of the monument broke. Both engravings indicate some elements were lost: two reclining victories on either side of the oculus, shell niches behind the busts of Giovanni and Andrea, and three *putti* heads beneath each sarcophagus. A comparison between ground plans of the Crociferi and Gesuiti churches confirms that the Da Lezze monument must have been dismantled and then reassembled in a different orientation on the new and enlarged counter façade. The original façade was positioned on an angle; the Jesuits extended the new one further into the campo and took the opportunity to straighten it. These elements were probably lost in the process.

Cavaliere Giovanni da Lezze, Procurator of San Marco *de supra* (1537), commissioned the monument in honour of himself, his father, Priamo, Procurator *de ultra* (1556), and his son, Andrea, a Procurator of St. Mark *de citra* (1573).[51] Giovanni's testaments narrate a progression from a general desire to be buried in the church





152. (left) Anton Francesco Lucini, *Monument to Priamo, Giovanni and Andrea da Lezze*, c. 1657

153. (right) Vincenzo Coronelli, *Monument to Priamo, Giovanni and Andrea da Lezze*, 1709

in 1550, to an idea for a monument in a 1561 codicil, to a work in progress in 1576.[52] The authorship of the monument has been the subject of scholarly conjecture, a debate to which I can add little beyond my own opinion. An attribution to Jacopo Sansovino has persisted since Lucini's engraving of 1657, and has most recently been argued, albeit not particularly persuasively, by Dario.[53] It was sensibly excluded from Howard's monograph on the Florentine architect and sculptor, and Boucher has made a compelling case for an alternative attribution to Alessandro Vittoria.[54] The primary evidence for Sansovino's involvement is the connection he shared with Giovanni, who was one of his principal supporters.[55] While Dario is able to provide some stylistic comparisons with other works by Sansovino[56], just as many parallels can be drawn between the monument and works by Vittoria (such as the façade of the Scuola di San Fantin, 1583–1584; fig. 154), whose own style was informed by that of the elder master. Further, Vittoria also shared connections with Giovanni as a result of decoration he contributed to some of the same public buildings with which Sansovino had been involved. By 1576 Vittoria had already provided *stucchi* in the Crociferi chancel, and he had produced the handsome bust of the patriarch Priamo to be placed at the focal point of the monument. Vasari knew the bust, whether through direct observation at the Crociferi church of San Marziale palazzo in 1566, or through his connected informant Cosimo Barto-

154. Alessandro Vittoria, Façade of the Scuola di San Fantin, Venice, 1583–1584

li; it was among eight mentioned in the 1568 edition.[57] Lewis' statement that as an "unequivocally architectural enterprise" the monument must be Sansovinian seems unreasonably dismissive of Vittoria's capabilities.[58] Documentary and logistical evidence points strongly away from Sansovino. He was dead by 1570, and Giovanni's last testament confirms that the work was in progress, but not complete in 1576. Although this does not exclude his responsibility for the design, it is difficult to reconcile Francesco Sansovino's failure to assign the work to his father, particularly since in 1581 the monument would have been recently completed.[59] Dario's suggestion that Francesco glossed over the monument out of animosity to-

ward Giovanni is not a satisfactory explanation for a missed opportunity to celebrate what would have been one of his father's final designs.[60] In light of Vittoria's pre-existing connection to the Crociferi, to Giovanni and perhaps most compellingly, his secure involvement in producing one of the key elements of the ensemble, it seems reasonable to remain dubious about any direct connections between this monument and Sansovino. Its triumphal form is not altogether surprising, given Priamo and Giovanni both held imperial titles, and given Giovanni's status as an avid architectural enthusiast who played an integral role in encouraging and introducing a classical, Roman idiom to a Venetian context (via Sansovino) as an expression of the Republic's prestige.

Beyond attribution, what remains significant to the discussion at hand is the magnificence of the result and what it represented. The combination of three sepulchres represented a formal innovation, as Stringa's expanded description of the monument highlighted:

> "tre bellissimi, & ricchissimi depositi, congiunti in uno".[61]

It constituted a break from tradition as a grandiose tribute to a private family, ostentatiously conceived by its members to celebrate its political dynasty. The scale and grandeur of the monument was not particularly unusual, but in the late sixteenth century it would have been incongruous with the class of the patrons. Venetian republican sensibilities discouraged the glorification of the individual. As Renier Zen's monument demonstrates, elaborate tributes were erected to honour individuals who had contributed to the Republic, but generally something on this scale was reserved for the likes of doges, or perhaps *condottieri*. The Da Lezze had all enjoyed brilliant political careers, each occupying important ambassadorial roles and the position of power second only to the doge,[62] but in the centuries that separated Renier's tomb from that of the Da Lezze, little had changed with regard to the decorum of memorials to the worldly ambition of individuals of this rank. Thus the Da Lezze monument forms a seminal example of a shift toward the acceptability of the self-glorification of the patrician elite, and an innovatory precedent for counter façade monuments to come.[63]

Dario argues that like the Zen, the cultural interests of the Da Lezze intersected with the atmosphere at the Crociferi church, providing a motivating factor in the selection of the site for the monument.[64] The Da Lezze were active participants in the *compagnie delle Calze*, were members of learned circles, and Giovanni was among those who attracted Aretino to Venice in 1527.[65] While it cannot have discouraged their association with the monastery, neither is it a sufficient explanation. The selection of the church and the construction of an extremely grand and visible monument was undoubtedly a deliberate effort to cluster their devotional interests with those of the powerful Zen.

When Priamo's first wife Elisabetta Dolfin passed away in 1534, within the year he had arranged another socially strategic marriage to Barbara Zen, daughter of Pietro.[66] Priamo was named in Pietro's 1538 testament ("et magnifico messer P. d Leze, mio genero"), and further ties between the two families would have been made by the next generation when as Provveditore all'Arsenale (1553), Giovanni came into close contact with Nicolò, a proponent of the renovation of the Arsenale.[67] Stately tombs and chapels were material expressions of devotion to a sacred community, but they were also markers of lineage and legacy. Although there is some evidence of a connection between the Crociferi and the Da Lezze previous to Priamo's marriage, this link of kinship can only have strengthened ties to the monastery[68] and as I have previously suggested, may even have resulted in the service of Priamo and Giovanni as lay procurators. The proximity of the tombs of these two families amounts to a conscious expression of solidarity that had existed in life, continued in death, and it cannot have escaped them that on the final day, the members would rise and approach judgment together as one illustrious assembly.

Lorenzo Massolo and Elisabetta Querini

Of all the decoration that once adorned the Crociferi church, none has received more attention than Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, which survives in the Jesuit church, albeit relocated from its original position on the second altar on the right, to the first altar on the left (fig. 140).[69] It has been the object of numerous formal and iconographic analyses, has been discussed as an example of Titian's response to Roman art and architecture, and to Counter-Reformation spirituality.[70] Although formal and symbolic considerations will be touched upon, the focus here will be on the patronage of the altarpiece. The narrative of its creation is one that stretches across a decade or more, punctuated by puzzling lacunae in documentation. The fantastic story of its patrons is rife with material worthy of historical fiction: murder, infidelity, illegitimate children, a prominent statesman, a papal nuncio, and the darling of the Venetian *literati*.

Lorenzo Massolo, a lawyer, hailed from an old Venetian patrician family, dating back to the early twelfth century. In 1512 he married Elisabetta Querini, a member of another illustrious family. Their first child, a daughter, died in infancy, but a son, Pietro, followed around 1519. In 1537 Pietro married Chiara Tiepolo, the daughter of Stefano, lay protector of the Crociferi. The marriage came to a shocking end short months after their union, when Pietro evidently stabbed his young wife to death. No explanation was ever provided for this violent act, even in the trial, but Pietro was convicted and sentenced to death.[71] He immediately fled to the Benedictine monas-

tery of San Benedetto in Polirone near Mantua, where he took monastic vows the following year. Even a decade later his parents were still attempting to secure a pardon. By the mid-1540's they had garnered the advocacy of some powerful friends: Pietro Bembo and Giovanni Della Casa, who was also a friend of Stefano Tiepolo. Bembo wrote to the Abbot Gregorio Cortese in Mantua in 1538 appealing to him to allow Pietro to continue in his studies in the "belle lettere" insofar as decorum would allow. In April 1546 Della Casa agreed to approach Tiepolo in hopes of resolving the situation for the Massolo family, but was understandably met with resistance. He wrote to Gualteruzzi that he had little hope for a resolution in favour of Massolo, as Tiepolo remained "cosi acerbo come se il caso fosse occorso hieri".[72] Although Tiepolo was willing to admit that Pietro posed little risk, the discussion had opened old wounds. Without Tiepolo's support, Della Casa felt there was little hope of changing minds, as everyone respected "questo nobile e ben honorato gentilhomo". Eventually the Holy See became involved, authorizing the nuncio to personally appeal to the government for a retrial. No dispensation was ever made for Pietro, who never returned to the island, but thrived in monastic life, becoming a successful writer of various treatises including, ironically, *Rime morali*.[73]

Just a year after Della Casa's unsuccessful attempt to secure Tiepolo's support in a pardon, Elisabetta wrote a new testament, the first to name the Crociferi church as the site of their "archa".[74] Her previous will of 1537, written a few months before Pietro's sentence, had expressed only a desire to be buried with her daughter and husband, but did not specify location.[75] Lorenzo's testament of November 1548 provides some clarification:

> "Item voglio et ordino che 'l mio corpo sia messo in la mia sepultura, quello di mia moier et le osse della q. mia fiola quale si trovano in uno deposito nella chiesa de ms. Zorzi Mazor nè altri voglio siano messi in detta sepultura, quale è nella Chiesa di Crosechieri davanti il mio altar".[76]

In all likelihood Elisabetta's 1537 testament referred to some sort of burial arrangement they had at San Giorgio Maggiore, where their daughter was already interred, that they later shifted to the Crociferi church. The timing of this move can be secured to sometime before May of 1547, about the time that the appeals to Stefano Tiepolo were being made. No explanation has ever been provided for why the couple chose the Crociferi church for their altar. There is no record of either family having previous or subsequent ties to the church, although they did live in relative proximity at San Cancian. I would suggest that their foundation of the altar was a gesture related to their contemporaneous efforts to appease Stefano Tiepolo, who in these years was

a Crociferi lay protector. Lorenzo's 1548 testament contains further evidence:

> "Lasso al mag° m. Stephano Thiepolo et sui Heriedi ducati vinticinq del Intrado in segno del amor et ho portat a quella pover del Chiara sua fiola et mia Carrissima nuora".[77]

Clearly Pietro's parents intended on making amends, and what better way than to establish and decorate an altar at the preferred church of the bereaved Tiepolo? It was also precisely in these same years that Giovanni della Casa began advocating for the Crociferi, and established his friendship with both Elisabetta and Tiepolo. The reader will recall that he intervened on behalf of the monastery in 1544, 1545 and 1555, with the latter resolution initiated at the request of Tiepolo. It was also during this period that Della Casa's infatuation with Elisabetta—expressed in laudatory letters and sonnets—was at its peak, thus it might even have been Della Casa who encouraged them to make such a gesture. It has often been postulated that Titian began work on the painting soon after his return from Rome in late March 1546, a trip on which Elisabetta's brother Girolamo had encouraged the artist to embark.[78] The influence of his Roman sojourn on aspects of the composition has often been cited as evidence for this date (figs. 139, 155, 159). The potential impetus for the commission around 1546 dovetails nicely with the approximate date many scholars

155. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, (detail, see fig. 157)

have reached on stylistic grounds for the initiation of the painting.[79]

In any case, Lorenzo's 1548 testament makes clear that arrangements for the altar were already in progress. His testament notes:

> "La Palla del qual altar voglio che sia habbia a finir et cussier coverchio de ditta sepolutura et salizato li va atorno secondo la mia intention come mia moier sa il tutto".

This single line has formed a *terminus ante*

quem for the commission of Titian's altarpiece, and in fact it is the last mention we have of the painting until 1557 (figs. 69, 157). A previously unknown document, Lorenzo's *mansonaria* dating to 8 August 1551, helps to fill part of that decade-long gap in documentation. The agreement notes that Lorenzo

> "co[n]strui[ire] et fabricare fecevit in ecc[lesi]a dive Virginis Marie ordinus Cruciferorum huius Civitatis Venetum a manu dextra Ingressus....altare sub vocabulo divi Laurentij".

It primarily stipulates the obligations of the Crociferi for saying a daily mass "per l'anima mio et del mia moier in perpetuo", a task that was initially assigned to one "frater Hieremia da Verona Sacerdotem", presumably their confessor. Lorenzo requested that his heirs, or in their absence the Procuratori di San Marco, oversee the election of a Crocifero to carry out these responsibilities in the future.[80] Although the document remains silent on any arrangements for decoration of the altar, the tense used to describe the act of building indicates that the altar itself had not yet been built.[81]

Indeed, we know that the painting was still not finished on 12 March 1557, when Elisabetta wrote her last testament on 25 January 1557, less than two months after the death of her husband:

> "Voglio et ordino che se l'archa et Pala di Crosechierj non serà finita, la facci finir con quella più prestezza serà possibile et cosi si data ogni debita execution di tempo in tempo à quanto è stà ordinato per il g. m. Lorenzo mio Marido".[82]

Elisabetta may not have survived to see the finished altarpiece installed. She died in January of 1559, the same year that Ridolfi claimed the 15 year-old Palma had studied it.[83] Even though Titian could literally see the back of the Crociferi church from his Biri Grande studio, it seems to have taken him over a decade to deliver the work, a habit that, according to Boschini, was not unusual. In 1564 Garcia Hernández, the intermediary between Titian and King Philip II, came sniffing around the church when his patron expressed a desire for a Titian *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* to honour the saint who had gained new significance as a result of a key victory at St. Quentin on his feast day in 1557. Hernández wrote to the king's secretary Gonzalo Pérez about the Crociferi version, "done by Titian many years ago". What he says next is critical, yet it has been consistently mistranslated and misinterpreted.[84] Most authors have contended the Crociferi were willing to part with the altarpiece for 200 *scudi*, or the king could pay 50 for a copy by Titian's leading pupil. What the letter actually says is that the *frati* told Hernández *they* paid 200 *scudi* for it.[85] For one thing, this suggests that the Crociferi probably assumed the responsibility for bringing the arrangement to a conclusion since Elisabetta's executor, Girolamo,

predeceased her in October 1559.[86] Stringa claimed in 1604 that an elderly Crocifero told him that the *frati* had received many offers over the years for the picture, even from foreign princes, of 3,000 or 4,000 *scudi*, but that they would never part with it.[87] Indeed, it is difficult to accept that they would have had the authority to sell a work right off the altar that had been provided by a private patron just five years before. That the Titian was not taken into the custody of the state in 1656 like the Tintoretto *Wedding at Cana* is further evidence that it was tied to its location by

156. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (detail, see fig. 157)

virtue of patronage rights. Even if they had been free to strike a deal, it seems beyond ridiculous to entertain the notion that a group of monks in the midst of a five-decade decorative extravaganza designed to obtain works by the leading artists would have been willing to part with their Titian for the low sum of 200 *scudi*.

Since the *pala* was unfinished when Lorenzo died, responsibility for following its progress fell to his wife. Lorenzo's 1548 testament clearly states that his wife knew his intentions in matters pertaining to the altar. Although it was not the norm, neither was it unheard of for a woman to oversee a commission on behalf of her deceased husband.[88] Yet one does get the distinct impression that it was Elisabetta who was the driving force behind this commission from the start, even if the subject honoured her husband's eponymous saint. While very little is known about Lorenzo Massolo, quite a lot is known about Elisabetta, and it was certainly she who had the connections to the painter, through her brother and her great admirers, Pietro Bembo and Giovanni della Casa. In 1543 Elisabetta commissioned a portrait of herself from Titian to give to Gualteruzzi, a member of this same circle.[89] There was, evidently, any number of people who wished to gaze upon her likeness. From the late 1530's she had been the object of Pietro Bembo's affections. He devoted six sonnets to praising her beauty, intellect, piety and grace.[90] In one he claims that she would have outshone Laura in the eyes of Petrarch, in another she was cast as a goddess in the Judgment of Paris. The papal nuncio was similarly besotted when he came to know *La Massola* during his time in Venice, probably via her brother Girolamo.[91] In 1545, the same year Della Casa served as delegate judge on Titian's trial over a dispute with the Canons of Santo Spirito in Isola,[92] a second Titian portrait of Elisabetta was commissioned, this time for the nuncio, who had already established a relationship with the sitter familiar enough to receive from her a gift of a luxurious bed.[93] Some have proposed that their relationship was inappropriate, and even produced a love child, an argument swiftly dismantled by Gallo, who sensibly notes that even if a woman married in 1512 could have borne a child in 1544-1545, some record of such a scandalous turn of events would have reached us.[94] It cannot be denied that Della Casa was beyond smitten; it was the second portrait that was the object of his sonnets, which provide an enduring record of his admiration: "Ben veggo io, Titiano, in forme nove L'idolo mio". So too did Aretino praise Titian for his rendition of "the golden, the beautiful, the sacred countenance of la Massola". The accompanying sonnet stressed Titian's success in revealing her illustrious mind, regal quality, noble thoughts, and irresistible spirit. Sadly, neither of the portraits of Elisabetta survives, nor does his portrait of Della Casa.[95]

Given that Elisabetta was already a patron of Titian, and was clearly a woman of unusual intellect who was accepted in the most learned circle of the day, the possi-

158. Martino Rota (after Titian), *Death of St. Peter Martyr*, c. 1560 (original panel painted in 1525–1530, but lost in 1867, formerly in the Basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice)

bility that she played a more active role in the commission should not be dismissed. It may even have been the ease between friends that allowed the project to drag on as it did.[96] The result was, of course, well worth the wait. The fiery nocturnal scene of Lawrence's martyrdom assumed unprecedented drama on a life-size scale (493 × 277 cm). Gone is the static, passive figure leaning on a grill (fig. 156). In the altarpiece's original setting, the viewer would have discovered the foreshortened Lawrence, feet first as they moved up the nave. The spectator is drawn into the darkness, broken only by the flames that lick the saint's exposed skin, torches, and a bolt of lightning, seen only by Lawrence and the pious witness to this sacred drama. This effect would only have been heightened by the addition of two actual torches, which Lorenzo stipulated should be placed on the altar on special occasions.[97] The looming classical temple emerging from the night and the violent postures of Lawrence's tormentors, pushing, pulling, stoking and watching in cruel inaction, inspire pity, fear, and horror.[98] Yet there is something triumphant and heroic about the muscular body of the saint, who strains to reach for his divine reward, in a gesture that closely recalls Peter Martyr's in Titian's first monumental scene of martyrdom of thirty years before (fig. 158). As Panofsky so persuasively argued, this impression of the saint's victory over death, of the Christian faith over the pagan world, would have been emphasised for the educated viewer by the statue of Vesta to the left-hand side (fig. 155).[99] It must be said that the painting's message of violence and redemption takes on new poignancy against the backdrop of that shocking act that forever changed the lives of the patrons.

157. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1548–1559, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

Even though the official guidelines for Counter-Reformation art had not yet been codified, this altarpiece fulfilled the requirements. It is no wonder that the altar decoration was so praised by the apos-

tolic visitors at a time when the boundaries were clearer: "...ornatum decentissime in omnibus".[100] By the end of the century theorists were encouraging artists to exaggerate violence in scenes of martyrdom, to explore the tension between tragedy and victory, for the purposes of moral edification and heightened emotional reaction. But even in the 1540's and 50's, the Massolo couple's selection of a scene of martyrdom was highly progressive. Titian had already explored some of these ideas in 1527, and by the time he painted the Massolo altarpiece he had spent a decade producing works, some of them depicting violence and suffering, for various individuals at the Spanish court, where Counter-Reformation spirituality was alive and well.[101] Titian's good friend Aretino began writing his highly dramatic and violent accounts of the lives of saints over a decade before Trent was even in session, and their immediate popular appeal confirms that there was a demand for written works that would elicit a similar response from the reader as Titian's painted narratives. Why should we expect that there would not have been an analogous demand for such expression in the more powerful and accessible medium of painting, even if there had not yet been a formal articulation of the ideal form of Counter-Reformation art? It was precisely during the 1540's that Venice became more aware of the Protestant threat and a need to remain vigilant against it. Della Casa's arrival in the city in 1544 signalled a superficial openness to addressing the concerns of the papacy, as in reality he was met with the usual Venetian resistance to external interference. As Humfrey has noted, the echoes of Counter-Reformation spirituality discernable in altarpieces like this one "may be interpreted less as the result of instructions from bishops and the clergy than a spontaneous response by artists and their lay patrons to a generally diffused mood of religious revival".[102] Although Della Casa was more ambitious than pious, and could not really be considered a particularly passionate reformer, it was his job to enforce orthodoxy. As an intellectual and art enthusiast, no one would have been in a better position to advise Titian and/or the Massolo couple on how they might achieve a progressive, yet decorous result. The connections all parties involved in this commission shared with Della Casa serve as compelling evidence of this, and the generally learned character of the patrons, their circle, and the Crociferi, supports the long-held belief that there was in fact a literary source for the painting, probably Prudentius.[103] Many have argued for various cryptic references to Elisabetta's involvement, but it remains impossible to prove.[104] Even as a clearly extraordinary woman, it seems anomalous to suggest that she would have expected to be overtly referenced in the altarpiece. Should she have wished for such a thing, she might have opted for

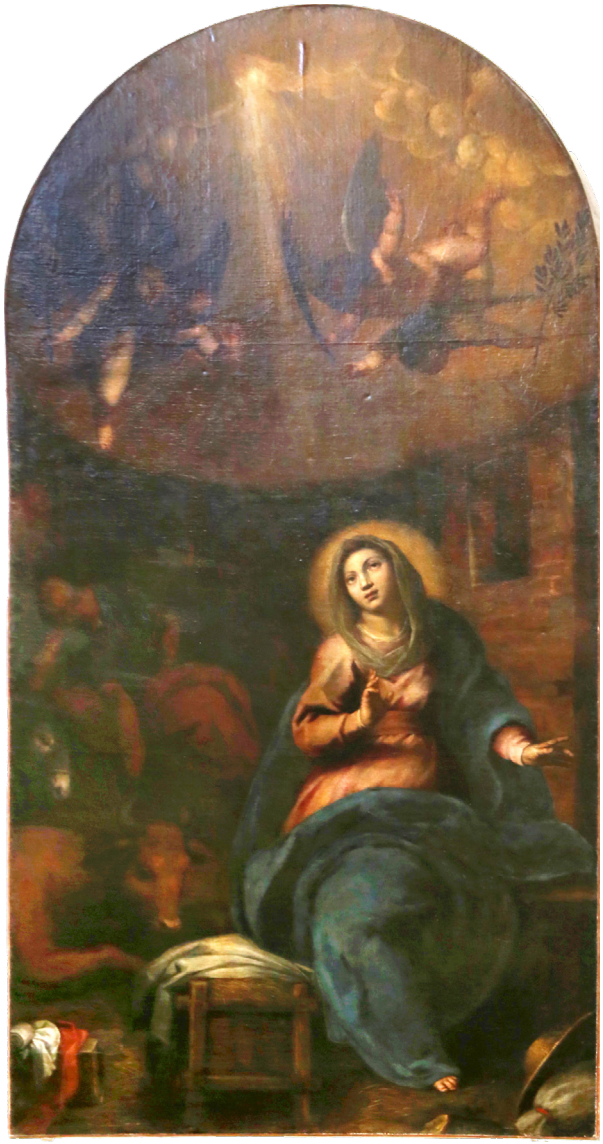
159. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (detail, see fig. 157)

a more traditional *sacra conversazione* designed to include her eponymous saint. If there is evidence of Elisabetta in this image, it might better be described as latent; the work as a whole may be seen as a reflection of her own erudition and the company she and Titian kept at a moment of religious upheaval. The Crociferi, with their known taste for the theatrical cannot have been displeased. On the contrary, the work seems to have inspired them to bracket the altar with two further violent martyrdoms in the decades that followed.

Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo

The last major addition to the decoration of the church was an altar dedicated to the Guardian Angel that Martinioni claimed was erected by Giovanni Tiepolo "già Patriarca di Venetia" (figs. 111, 140, 160). Like many Crociferi patrons, Tiepolo (1571-1631) was of noble extraction, a member of the Tiepolo family through his father and the Bragadin family through his mother, whose uncle was doge Marino Grimani (1595-1605). It was Grimani who appointed the exceedingly pious Tiepolo to the position of *primicerio* of San Marco in 1603, a position he held until he became patriarch in 1619. Throughout his career, he was a fierce promoter of Venetian spirituality and its autonomy from Rome, the cult of the Virgin, local saints and relics as well as a prolific author of pastoral treatises published exclusively in the *volgare* in the interests of accessibility.[105] As a proponent of religious reform, Tiepolo viewed painting as a similarly powerful, even related tool for the instruction and inspiration of the population, as articulated in his 1613 *Trattato dell'invocatione et veneratione de' Santi*.[106] From about 1615-1621 he expended the majority of his personal fortune creating and decorating altars in every single *sestiere* of the city in an effort to visually promote rather obscure Marian dedications and the cults of Venetian *beati*.[107] He personally founded four altars dedicated to the Virgin at the churches of San Francesco di Paola (Madonna di Loreto), Spirito Santo (Madonna di Arezzo), Santa Lucia (Madonna del Parto), and the Frari (Madonna del Pianto), an altar dedicated to the Crucifixion at the church of San Gerolamo, another dedicated to the Agony of Christ at the church of the Convertite (Santa Maria Maddalena) on the Giudecca, and the altar of the Venetian *beato* Giacomo Salamon at the basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo. Two further altars of unknown dedication were founded at the churches of Santo Stefano and San Samuele.[108] Tiepolo's altar at church of the Crociferi must be seen in the context of this wider pattern of patronage; it was a gesture made on behalf of these individual communities, and the Venetian religious community as a whole. It was personal only insofar as it was an expression of

160. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Guardian Angel* (*Tiepolo Altarpiece*), after 1617, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice



161. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Expectation of the Birth of Christ*, c. 1618, Church of San Geremia, Venice

Tiepolo's own devotional proclivities, as he was not buried at the church, nor did he endow masses there.[109]

Martinelli's description locates the altar to the immediate left of the entrance. Both Martinioni and Martinelli attest to its decoration with a *pala* by Palma il Giovane (still in church of the Gesuiti), who was in fact also the favoured painter of Tiepolo (figs. 140, 160).[110] Palma contributed to the cycle of 28 portraits of Venetian saints and *beati* Tiepolo commissioned in 1622 for the church of the Madonna dell'Orto as a visual parallel to his published Venetian hagiographical treatise.[111] He also provided an altarpiece around 1618 for the altar at the church of Santa Lucia (now in the church of San Geremia) employing the rare iconography of the *Expectation of the Birth of Christ*[112] (fig. 161), and it cannot be coincidence that Palma was heavily involved in the decoration of San Bartolomeo and San Gerolamo, both churches consecrated by Tiepolo. Like many of Tiepolo's altars, this one bore a rather obscure dedication to the cult of the Guardian Angel, which was heavily promoted by the Jesuits in the face of the rejection of the book of Tobit from Protestant scripture. It was deemed as apocryphal, and prayers to angels were discouraged as a form of false intercession. Published reflections on the cult by its major proponents, Luigi Gonzaga (1606) and the Roberto Bellarmino (whose works were recorded in the Crociferi library) aided its dissemination. Their writings stressed the role guardian angels played in each life, from womb to tomb and beyond, guiding, protecting and interceding on behalf of an individual, just as the archangel Raphael did for Tobias.[113] Their story became the model for the concept of the guardian angel, but did not proliferate in Venice until the later part of the century, as evinced by the foundation in 1692 of a confraterni-

ty dedicated to the cult in Santi Apostoli.[114] The story of Raphael and Tobias had further relevance for the vocation of the Crociferi, as the story carried connotations of charity and healing, indeed the name "Raphael" means "God's healing", and their church in Verona also had an altar dedicated to the Angelo Custode.

Palma's altarpiece provides multiple vignettes (fig. 162), narrating various stages of the journey of Raphael and Tobias on the lower register. In each Raphael directs and counsels Tobias, something Palma communicates through protective postures and guiding gestures. In the principal scene Raphael and Tobias seem to engage in a debate between two paths, with Tobias, clutching his pilgrim's staff, gesturing inquisitively toward a tree trunk. Raphael's elegantly-posed leg

162. Detail of *Tobias and the Angel* from Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Guardian Angel* (detail, see fig. 160)

163. (left) Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Preparatory Drawings for the Guardian Angel Altarpiece*, after 1617, private collection

164. (right) Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Virgin and Child Appearing to St. John the Evangelist, St. Jerome, Tobias and the Angel, St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis of Paola*, after 1617, The British Museum, London

blocks his progress, directing him instead to the souls purveyed to heaven by angels in the second register. It conveys the central message of the importance of blind faith in divine grace (personified by the angel) to steer souls out of the path of danger (where they might be felled by evil), and onto the correct path toward salvation. Several preparatory drawings illustrate how Palma initially conceived of a *sacra conversazione* format, with a single depiction of Raphael and Tobias, flanked by two kneeling female saints and two Crociferi on the lower register, with the Madonna in the firmament above (fig. 163).[115] A second arrangement included the multiple narratives, with the figure of Raphael gesturing to the souls being carried toward the Trinity at the summit (fig. 164). Ultimately, he left the heavenly

sphere to the imagination of the viewer, but achieves a far more engaging result by omitting the more static elements. The work has traditionally been dated to after 1619, based on the year of Tiepolo's election, and because it fits stylistically with Palma's late period, to which Ridolfi assigned it.

It is hard to say why Tiepolo chose to bestow the church with an altar. His devotion to its titular may have been a factor, but in a city with innumerable Marian churches, this alone is not a satisfactory explanation. As a reformer, perhaps he was rewarding or encouraging the efforts of the Crociferi toward rehabilitation. Tiepolo was extremely sympathetic to the difficulties of convent life in particular. As a member of the ruling class, he knew all too well that the city's institutions were full of sons and daughters who had been forced into religious life by necessity rather than a genuine calling.[116] It may have been the patrician demographic at the monastery that attracted his support and, as we have seen, it was just this sort of illustrious backing that allowed the Venetian house to flourish while all others faltered. As one of the greatest proponents of religious traditions unique to Venice and the autonomy of its church, Tiepolo's gesture might also be seen against the backdrop of the gradual decline of the order throughout the final decades of its existence, and Rome's increasing desire to suppress these "conventini inutili". The Venetian house was the last to go, not because it was a bastion of piety and orthodoxy, but because it was the longstanding recipient of a sort of protection unique to Venice: one that was rooted in the Republic's resistance toward the interference of Rome, even when justified, and in the devotional preferences of its elite ruling class, which we have seen favoured the Crociferi from the start. As a late and final piece of evidence for what has already emerged strongly from these pages, Tiepolo's patronage is a fitting place to conclude.

[1] Romano, 1987, 41, 103. The present chapter was reworked and expanded 'Murder and Martyrdom: Titian's Gesuiti *St. Lawrence* as a Family Peace Offering', *Artibus et Historiae*, 68 (2014), pp. 39-54. The essay is republished here with a larger number of illustrations; see Add. II.

[2] Neff, 1985, 415. A. Dardani, *La bella e dotta difesa delle donne* (Venice, 1554). This work celebrates historical *donne i llustre*, is an etiquette manual, and even strategies for conceiving sons. Dardani also had interests in the company of Nicholas Jenson, the earliest licensed publisher, and John of Speyer. M. Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 1991), 165.

[3] ASV, NT (Busenello), B. 66, n. 47, B. 66 III c 17. (28 October 1504).

[4] Neff, 1985, 413. From 1483 he was a notary at the Auditori Nuovi, and had his first government appointment in 1487.

[5] *DBI*, 1986, XXXIX, 262-5.

[6] G. Zoccoletto, *Alvise Dardanio* (Mestre, 1999), 109.

[7] *Guida alle Magistrature*, 2003, 71.

[8] Sanudo, *I diarii*, XII, 67 (18 March 1511). He died at 79.

[9] T. Weigel, "Begräbniszeremoniell und Grabmäler venezianischer Grosskanzler des 16. Jahrhunderts" in *Praemium Virtutis* (Münster, 2002), 147-73.

[10] BMC, Tassini, *Cittadini*, II, c. 143-144; BMN, Ms. It. VII 366 (=7660), *Famiglia Dardani*. BNM, Ms.lat. Cl. X 144 (-3657). G. Palferio, *Memorabilia Venetiarum Monumenta antiquis recentioribusque lapidibus insculpta*, c.91r-v. Inscription: App.VIII.

[11] ASV, SDC, B. 33, f. 173, c.2; ASV, AP, c. 128v, 131r.

[12] BMC, Tassini, *Cittadini*, V, c. 115-116. I searched the *atti* of Calegarini for all available years for references to Usper, Dardani and the Crociferi to no avail.

[13] App.VII.

[14] ASV, Giudici del Petizion, B. 342/7 n. 26, c. 18v.

[15] ASV, NT (Secco), B. 1191 (Elena, 16 April 1594); B. 1194 VI 60 (Ludovico, 30 October 1600); B. 1192, n. 402 (Ludovico, 30 December 1600); NT (Ziliol), B. 1244, n. 466 (Ludovico, 24 Feburary 1600), B. 1242, n. 230 (Elena, 25 October 1602). Ludovico: "...voglio quando piacera à Dio chiamarmi voglio che sia sepelito nella mia archa alli Crocecchieri".

[16] The chapel may not have been recorded in the 1581 visit because the chapel had just been ceded, and was perhaps even in the process of redecoration.

[17] Stringa, 1604, 148; Martinioni, 1663, 169; ASV, AP, c. 124r. The 1656 inventory recorded "Diversi statui", but only one painting "di mano di Pittore incerto".

[18] The closest surviving analogous project by the shop is the chapel of the Sacrament at San Giuliano (1578-83), which was also decorated with a *stucco* ceiling and side niches with small bronze terracotta figures by Agostino Rubini.

[19] On Andrea dall'Aquila: V. Avery, "La bottega di Alessandro Vittoria" in *La Bellissima maniera*, 1999, 132-3.

[20] Avery, 1999, 212.

[21] ASV, GdP, B. 342/7 n. 26, cc.17r, 18v. Amongst Usper's papers: "diversi scrittu-

re circa ricevi del pagamento dela casa circa scolturi".

[22] *Ibid.*, c. 18v. See App. VII.

[23] Sponza dedicated his Ricarcari to Usper, who was likely responsible for Sponza's employment as organist and choirmaster at the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista, of which he was a member. Sponza was also organist at San Salvador (1614) and San Marco (1622). E. Selfridge-Field, "Usper, Francesco" in *New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980).

[24] B. Boucher, *The sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven, 1991), II, 326. The only possible surviving bronze this could be identified with is the signed Madonna in the Cleveland Museum of Art. The fact that the inventory specifies the work is by Sansovino suggests it was also signed.

[25] ASV, GdP, B.342/7 n. 26, cc. 22v-23r. Fortini Brown in *At Home in the Renaissance*, 2006, 56. For example, Veronese's portraits of the Porto-Thiene couple.

[26] M. Leithe-Jasper in *La Bellissima maniera*, 1999, 364-6, cat. 82. He postulates they might have once been contained in niches, possibly on a large tabernacle.

[27] D. Pincus, *Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (Cambridge, 2000), 62-3.

[28] Concina, 1985, 269-72. The Zen were active in the *compagnie delle Calze*. Caterino was a member of the Cortesi, Carlo of the Ortolani, Francesco a founder of the Fasuti. Their interest in music is evinced by their possession of an organ (the sole surviving instrument) by Lorenzo da Pavia, and their literary activities by their close association with the printer Marcolini (who considered himself a "creatura di gran Pietro"), figures such as Aretino, and their own published works.

[29] BMC, Cod. Cic. 3237.T.II.

[30] ASV, NT (Marsilio), B. 1213, n. 888, transcribed in Lucchetta, 1968, Appendix XXVIII.

[31] Sansovino, 1581, 60b; ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72r. "Altare sancte Crucis cum capella qua edificanda sine reparanda est i Nobilibus le Zenis".

[32] App. VIII.

[33] Lucrezia was named for Pietro's sister, who had been a trusted member of the household of their cousin, Caterina Corner. In her first testament, witnessed by one Frater Marchus Venetus Ordinis Cruciferorum [ASV, NT (Grasolario), B. 1184, n. 311 (15 July 1523)], she established a *commissaria* for masses to be said at the altar of St. Barbara. In her second will [ASV, NT (Benzon), B. 96, n. 381, c. 1r (12 August 1535)], she expressed her wish to be buried "nel monumento sepulc. del mro mio padre nella giesia di Sta Maria d Crosechieri". Her *commissaria* is recorded in the 1656 inventory.

[34] ASV, PSMsupra, Chiesa, B. 95, c. 296r-v (1 August 1658). "Pietro Zen per il suo testamento che si dice esser fatto l'anno 1538 ordini fabricarsi una cappella nella chiesa di Santa Maria de Crociferi di questa chitta offitiarvi una Mansonaria, con altre funtioni in quello dichiarite applicandovi il tratto delle sue chesure d'Arzere grande, le quali poi da suoi figlioli et heredi frono consegnate a gli stessi Padri

con obligo d'esseguire l'ordinatione del Testatore come vien detto apparire per scrittur privata de 14 novembre 1544 registrata in atti di Nodaro a 21 febraro seguente. La cappella già eretta sotto titolo della Santissima Croce, dagl'herei del q. Pietro Zen nella predetta Chiesa già de Crociferi e hora dei Gesuiti, la qual cappella al presente si strova anco sotto il titolo di S. Ignatio, postavi coll'assenso dei detti Zeni". Although no notary was specified by name, I made an unsuccessful attempt to find the agreement in the *atti* of the favoured Crociferi notary, Benzon, as well as Antonio Marsilio, used by Zen for his testament. What survives of the Zen family archive is preserved in the Correr, but only seven documents dating 1500-1550 remain, none of them pertinent to the chapel.

[35] ASV, AP, c. 123v. See App. IV. The statue evidently led those making the inventory to erroneously conclude that the chapel was dedicated to the Pietà. BNM, Mss. Ital, Cl. VII. 193 (=7490), P. Zen, *Elogi degl'homini illustri della famiglia Zena*; G. Zabarella, *Trasea Peto, ovvero origine della Serenissima fameglia Zeno di Venezia* (Padua, 1646).

[36] Cicogna, 1824-53, III, 1830, 520; T. Martin, 1998, 126-7, and T. Martin, "Pietro Zen" in *La Bellissima maniera*, ed. A. Bacchi, 1999, 306. An inscription «PETRUZ ZE» identifies it as a Pietro Zen, but it is generally dated to 1583-5. It would had to have been commissioned by his heirs, possibly in response to busts being made by their Da Lezze relatives for their monument in the church. [Editor's note: Thomas Martin identified the sitter of Vittoria's bust as Pietro q. Gerolamo Zen, whereas Allison Sherman seemed to imply he was Pietro q. Caterino Zen]

[37] Dario, 1995, 193.

[38] Pincus, 2000, 59-75; Lunardon, 30. Only fragments remain. Zen's 1268 will outlined his desire to see it complete as soon as possible. The expenses for work on the tomb are recorded in the *buste* of his *commissaria* (PSMsupra, BB. 230-5). Some have speculated (based on misinterpreted documents) that Zen was first buried at the Crociferi church, which may have been the case temporarily. His 1268 will implies that work was underway on his monument, but if it was not yet complete, he might have reposed for a time in the church that received the other half of his substantial bequest. The Crociferi and the Dominicans were to divide Zen's capital investments, and both received separate bequests for individual projects. For example, he allotted 1000 ducats to construct the portal at Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

[39] Pietro inherited 3,000 ducats.

[40] Sansovino, 1581, 138 v; Ridolfi, 1648, I, 58; *Figure di collezionisti a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento*, eds. Borean and Rinaldi (Udine, 2002), 291-2. Francesco was also a friend of Daniele Barbaro, was lauded by Sansovino as "gentiluomo intendente dell'architettura".

[41] Palazzo Zen: Fontana, 1865, 279-82; Concina, 1984, 265-89. After Pietro's death the home was split between his four sons.

[42] BMC, Archivio Zen 330, 1543.

[43] On Pietro's career: Gaier, 131-160; Lucchetta, 1968, 107-119. Pietro entered the Grand Council at 25 in 1477, served as Provveditore of customs at Venice and Damascus, and was consul at the latter. He was appointed to the Avogadori di Comun, was a member and Capo of the Consiglio dei Dieci, Podestà of Padua, and served in various capacities in the east, including orator of Constantinople. Caterino was ambassador to Persia.

[44] Giraldi, 66; Concina, 1984, 272-3.

[45] Giraldi, 10. Both Renier and Carlo led Venetian forces to major victories against the Genovese.

[46] Foscarini Collection, Vienna, Cod. CC-VIII no.6643.

[47] Concina, 1984, 281.

[48] On the controversy surrounding the division of property between Nicolò and his uncle Vincenzo: Pinessi, 2007, 109-10. ASV, PSMcitra, Com., B. 233, c. 30. (5 June 1553) Nicolò provided 8600 ducats "per destruzer et redificar d[etto] Hosepdal".

[49] Gaier, 43-50. Stefano's son, Paolo, also had plans to be buried there and allotted 1000 ducats for an unrealised façade tomb, but it was never realised. Pincus, 2000, 14-35. Stefano's ancestor, doge Jacopo Tiepolo (1229-49), founded the church and was buried on the façade.

[50] Tafuri, 1995, 2.

[51] BMC, Barbaro, IV, cc. 148v-149v. See App. VIII.

[52] AST, NT (Bianco), B. 79, n. 496 (3 November 1550). "...habbia far far un posito in gieglia di chrosechieri". Codicil (2 March 1561); (Secco), B. 1191, n. 370 (26 July 1576). In 1550 he expresses a desire to be buried with his father at the Crociferi church. By 1561 Priamo was dead and he amended his wishes ("voglio che sia fatto un deposito nella giesia di frati de Crosechieri") and allotted 400 ducats to the project. In 1576 it was in progress, as he wishes to be placed "nello emolumento alli Crosechieri". It is "non finito per sorte", and he specifies that it be brought to completion "con ogni diligentia".

[53] M. Dario, "Il monumento funebre ai procuratori Priamo, Giovanni e Andrea da Lezze, nella chiesa dei Gesuiti a Venezia. Nuove considerazioni per un'attribuzione a Jacopo Sansovino" *AV* 66 (1994), 62-9; Dario, 1995, 167-209.

[54] Boucher, 1991, 370, followed by L. Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria* (Udine, 1998), 155 and Martin, 1998, 116-118.

[55] Vasari, VII, 508. As procurator Giovanni was involved in initiating and coordinating many of the major building projects and restorations in Piazza San Marco.

[56] Dario, 1994, 64. Mainly elements from the façades of San Giuliano and the Scuola della Misericordia, the Venier monument, the Loggetta.

[57] Vasari, VII, 520. It may have been placed on Priamo's initial *arca* before the monument was complete.

[58] D. Lewis, "Review of Sansovino and Venetian Architecture, by D. Howard" *BM* 121 (1979), 39.

[59] Sansovino, 1581, c. 61v. "Dentro alla por-

ta maggiore, è collocato in bel sepolcro Priamo da Legge Procurator di S. Marco, col figliuolo parimente Procuratore".

[60] Dario, 1994, 63.

[61] Stringa, 1604, 148.

[62] Dario, 1995, 169-77. Priamo was Captain of Treviso, Belluno, Padua (1506-7; 1519-50; 1529-30), was balloted for doge three times. Giovanni bought his way into the position of procurator (and therefore a lifetime position in the Senate) at the tender age of 21. Was ambassador to Paris (1561) and between the pope and Emperor Charles V at Bologna in 1532, the latter knighted him and made a Count of the Holy Cross.

[63] Dario, 1995, 194. Cites another example: Vittore Grimani's unrealised 1542 plan for a counter façade monument at San Francesco della Vigna.

[64] Dario, 1995, 189-90.

[65] Cairns, 1985, 15-21. Letters and dedications confirm the close ties between Aretino and Giovanni, who promoted the writer in high society, as did the Zen and their cousin, Andrea Corner. Giovanni was a member of the Floridi *compagnia*, and a member of the Accademia della Fama.

[66] BMC, Archivio Zen, 2 (3 Oct 1534).

[67] Dario, 1995, 170.

[68] *Correspondence*, 1991, 988-90. In the 1520's Giovanni da Lezze, the illegitimate son of Priamo's son Donato, was attached to the church, probably due to his musical talents, was perhaps even studying under some of the musicians there as a talented organist.

[69] R. Gallo, "Per il 'San Lorenzo Martire' di Tiziano" *Rivista di Venezia* 14, no. 4 (1935), 170. Lorenzo Pezzana built the chapel of St. Lawrence in the new Jesuit church.

[70] On the influence of Rome, the Temple of Antonious and Faustina, Raphael, Michelangelo, and the Grimani Fallen Gaul: J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *The Life and Times of Titian* (London, 1881), 262; Gallo, 1935, 167; E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic* (New York, 1969), 53-7; H. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian* (London, 1969-75), I, 139-40, cat. 114; S. Sponza in *Titian Prince of Painters*, ed. F. Valcancover (Venice, 1990), 309-11. On Titian's visual sources and the development of the iconography: A. Joachimides, "Tizians Laurentiusmartyrium und die Venezianità Künstler und Auftraggeber zwischen Humanismus und Gegenreformation" *ZfK* 72 (2009), 351-68.

[71] Molmenti, 1927, 133-4.

[72] Gallo, 1935, 164. Della Casa narrates the developments in letters to Gualteruzzi dated 10 April, 24 April and 1 May 1546.

[73] *Rime morali di m. Pietro Massolo* (Venice, 1583). Published with a preface by his friend, Francesco Sansovino.

[74] ASV, NT (Marsilio), B. 1207, n. 270 (25 May 1547). "Voglio che 'l sia sepelito nella Chiesa di crosichieri de Venesia nell'archa nostra con quella spesa che alli ditti miei commissari parerà".

[75] ASV, NT (Canal), B. 190, n. 244 (1 May 1537).

[76] ASV, NT (Marsilio), B. 1210, n. 683, c. 2r (18 November 1548).

[77] Lorenzo also left 100 ducats "alli frati del S. Franc.o dalla vigna per loro fabrica... una volta sola", and small bequests to the Pietà, S. Iseppo, Santa Croce, Corpus Domini and the hospitals of Santi Giovanni e Paolo and the Incurabili.

[78] He is habitually mistaken as her grandfather or cousin. D'Elia, 2006, 180; BMC, Barbaro, VI, cc.181v-182r; ASV, Barbaro, VI, 335.

[79] R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano* (Florence, 1969), 148-9; Sponza, 1990, 308. Chiara Moretto Wiel has argued similarly based on a study in the Uffizi of the leg of the figure on the right, probably the one mentioned in a letter to Leopoldo de'Medici from Paolo del Sera of 1671. (Inv. 12907f, charcoal on blue paper). C. Moretto Wiel, *Tiziano. Corpus dei disegni autografi* (Milan, 1988).

[80] ASV, PSMsupra, Com. B. 12, fasc. 10b, cc. 1r-2r (8 August 1551).

[81] Thanks to Dr. Georg Christ and Dr. Angela Roberts for confirming the transcription.

[82] BMC, Cod. Cic. 3423/XIV (V 294, VII 8), fasc. 17 (8 March 1557), c. 1r.

[83] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 172.

[84] B. Cole. "Titian and the Idea of Originality in the Renaissance" in *The Craft of Art*, ed. A. Ladis and C. Wood (London, 1995), 105.

[85] Crowe and Cavalcaselle's English translation makes this error, and it has persisted since (1877, II, 343). The original is transcribed in M. Mancini, *Tiziano e le corti d'Asburgo nei documenti archivi spagnoli* (Venice, 1998), 322, n. 202 (9 October 1564). "En un monasterio desta ciudad está un quadro de San Lorenzo que hizo él muchos años ha, el qual es de la grandeza y manera que vuestra merced apunta en su carta, y los frailes me han dicho que le dieron por él doscientos escudos".

[86] Humfrey, 1993, 97. It was not unusual for the clergy to assume responsibility for a commission initiated by a deceased patron.

[87] Stringa, 1604, 147.

[88] Humfrey, 2000, 379. For example, Elisabetta Soranzo oversaw the commission of Veronese's high altarpiece for San Sebastiano, and Elisabetta, widow of Giovanni Vendramin, executed the commission for Tintoretto's San Polo *Assumption of the Virgin with Saints*.

[89] On the portraits of Elisabetta and Giovanni della Casa: Gallo, 1935, 163-5; Santosuosso, 1995, 111-18.

[90] C. Kidwell, *Pietro Bembo* (Montreal, 2004), 318-26, 374. Bembo wrote to her in 1537: "...your mind is no less lovely than the body which heaven gave you, so graceful and pleasing and marvellously sweet. I know you had a most charming mind, but I would not have guessed that you had such a pure, beautiful and noble literary style which delights me and gives me a good, sweet reason to love and honour you".

[91] Santosuosso, 1995, 119. Bembo recommended Della Casa to the Querini family before he took up his post. Girolamo was extremely connected—he was active in the circle in which the Zen and Da Lezze also ran—and he introduced the

nuncio to artists and intellectuals, including Titian, Sansovino and Aretino.

[92] A. Sambo, "Tiziano davanti ai giudici ecclesiastici" in *Tiziano e Venezia* (Vicenza, 1980), 383-93.

[93] Gallo, 1935, 162-3; Vasari, 1878, III, 169. A letter of 23 May 1545 from Della Casa to Gualteruzzi confirms the commission, and Vasari saw it in Della Casa's house.

[94] BMC, Cod. Cic. 3423/XIV (V 294,VII 8), fasc. 17 (8 March 1557), c. 1r. As Elisabetta's testament confirms, a son, Quirinetto, was born to Della Casa who still aspired for promotion to cardinal. For obvious reasons of decorum he was taken as the charge of the woman for whom he was clearly named, and her brother Girolamo. She arranged a handsome trust for the boy in her testament. Sponza (1990, 310) suggests that the specification in Lorenzo's testament that no one other than he and his wife be placed in their burial plot is evidence of his concern with excluding his wife's illegitimate son, however testaments frequently included this particular clause.

[95] Santosuosso, 1995, 117 and Terribile, 2006, 79-130. Della Casa owned multiple works by Titian, including one given to Girolamo Querini upon his departure for Rome in 1550. A portrait matching the description of the Elisabetta portrait was listed in 1640 in the *Catalogo di quadri vendibili a Genova*: "La Donna di Gio: della Casa nominata dal Vasari come in ritratto nuda, a meraviglia bella, di mano di Titiano, largo quattro palmi et alto palmi quattro e mezzo". Various engravings and purported copies of both portraits do exist.

[96] As has so often been suggested, the work was probably immediately delayed by Titian's eight-month sojourn at the court of Charles V in January 1548, followed by a second trip, six months in duration in 1550, and many commissions for the Augsburg court throughout the decade.

[97] ASV, NT (Marsilio), B. 1210, n. 683, c. 2r. "Io voglio che mio moier manda ogni anno dilli sopra scritti padri di Crosechieri doi torci" to be placed on his altar "al vespero et alla messa di morti. A codicil was primarily occupied by how and by whom the torches would be supplied after his wife's death.

[98] D'Elia, 2006, 67; P. Hills, "Titian's fire: pyrotechnics and representations in sixteenth- century Venice" *Oxford Art Journal* 80 (2007), 195, 202. D'Elia argued that Venetian Renaissance viewers had a vivid point of reference from witnessing public executions. Likewise, Hills has noted the original audience would have lived with a pervasive anxiety about fire and its destructive power, thus may have had a heightened response to its depiction.

[99] Panofsky, 53-7. Panofsky contends that Titian's source may have been the *Passio sancti Laurentii* of Prudentius, written just two centuries after the actual martyrdom, translated and published in the vernacular by the Aldine press around 1501. For Prudentius, Lawrence's martyrdom represented the defeat of Vesta, the chaste goddess, and thus forms a moment of transition from the pagan to Christian

world.

[100] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72r. "...sed est sine capella habet dotem 22 ducatorum cum obligatione ibi celibrandi ad libitum per mansonaria S.mi Dn' Laurentij Massoli, familia extincta est, annexa est ei societas".

[101] C. Hope, *Titian* (London, 1980), 109. Hope has called the 1547 Prado *Ecce Homo*, "one of the earliest and most perfect examples of Counter-Reformation religious art". Titian produced the gory *Tityus* (lost; a repetition of c. 1565 in the Prado) and quasi-nocturnal *St. Margaret and the Dragon* for Mary of Hungary 1548-9.

[102] P. Humfrey, *The age of Titian* (Edinburgh, 2004), 26-7.

[103] E. Scarpa, "La biblioteca di Giovanni della Casa" *La Bibliofilia* 82 (1980), 247-280. There is no record of a copy of Prudentius in the inventory of Della Casa's library, although he must surely have known it, given he was responsible for compiling the first index of prohibited books. Due to the closure of the Vatican library I was unable to consult the full inventory of the Crociferi library for evidence of the text in their collection. Given their interest in *volgare* literature and their connections to the community that produced it, there is good reason to believe that they would have known the Aldine translation, if not possessed a copy.

[104] Sponza, 1990, 311. He argues the statue and lightning reference Elisabetta.

[105] On his writings: Logan, 1995, 332-371.

[106] *Ibid.,* 340. "One can understand the matter and order of a thing by reading it no less than by seeing it. But a writer sometimes cannot in certain points embellish what he says to the same degree that a painter can with brushes and colours, nor can the painter express certain things which pertain to ideas rather than to what can be perceived by sense; to describe a thing fully, therefore, painting and writing are often joined together".

[107] I am indebted to Deborah Walberg, who generously shared her unpublished research on Tiepolo's patronage of Marian altars.

[108] BMC, Cod. Cic. 3060, I, n. 23, cc. 243-64.

[109] There was no mention of Tiepolo in the 1656 list of endowed masses, *mansonarie*.

[110] Martinioni, 1663, 169; Martinelli, 1684, 222; ASV, AP, c. 124r. The 1656 inventory recorded: "Una Pala di dto Angelo di man del Palma". Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 127, cat. 436.

[111] Boschini, 1664, 445.

[112] Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 375, 377-80.

[113] P. Marshall, *Angels in the early modern world* (Cambridge, 2006), 13, 191-213.

[114] Vio, 2006, 173.

[115] Mason Rinaldi, 1984, 127, D. 55. Pen, ink and brown wash. London, British Museum and London, Christie's, July 2, 2019, lot 33 (formerly London, Colnaghi Archive).

[116] Tiepolo's sympathy for nuns is outlined by Sperling (*Convents and the Body Politic*, 1999).

Conclusions

Beyond achieving a clearer sense of the form and decoration of this lost church, one of the chief objectives of this project was to understand how this decadent religious order, constantly cited for its disobedience, managed to maintain a thriving community in Venice, the material expression of which was its sumptuously decorated church.

Two explanations emerged, both related to forms of patronage, the theme that developed as the fulcrum of this dissertation. A map of relationships and social networks, all interacting in this space became apparent, one that spanned the full spectrum of Venetian social stratifications. As these pages have demonstrated, despite their lapses in discipline, the Venetian Crociferi were consistently sustained by the support of the elite patrician class, prominent members of the *cittadino* class, numerous affluent guilds and confraternities, two doges, a Grand Chancellor, numerous Procuratori di San Marco, and a Patriarch of Venice. Their connection to the ruling class seems the obvious explanation for the unprecedented success and longevity of the Venetian monastery. As Romano has shown, despite moral and economic corruption, even violence, these monasteries continued to have huge appeal to a patrician audience.[1]

Attachment to a sacred community sometimes developed out of a historical connection between a family and a monastery, or a strategic bond of kinship, and while this was the case at the Crociferi church, there is also a sense that its rather sophisticated and at times relaxed atmosphere was a compelling factor for its

165. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Assumption of the Virgin, Angels*, 1589, ceiling decoration, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice (see page 162)

elite support and membership. Crociferi interest in theatre, secular literature, music and visual art undoubtedly developed out of their connection to the patrician class, or at the very least was nurtured by it. The monastery formed a nexus between the sacred and the secular, demonstrating that while there was often tension between these two realms, they were in fact intimately linked. Since the Crociferi elsewhere do not appear to have been particularly engaged in learned pursuits or as patrons of memorable visual art, it is tempting to assign responsibility for the ambiance at Santa Maria Assunta to this uniquely Venetian milieu. Indeed, patrician support goes a long way in explaining how the Venetian monastery was still filled to capacity in 1656, when membership at every other house was depleted to two or three inhabitants, and why three out of the final four Crociferi houses were under Venetian control.

Patrician allegiance to monasteries was a major obstacle for religious reform in Venice, as the very individuals in positions of governmental authority to enforce discipline were also those with personal investments in individual monastic communities, and the power to protect their favoured institutions.[2] Ample evidence has been elucidated of the ways in which the Crociferi benefited from this dynamic; indeed it is clear that they actively sought out powerful protectors precisely for this reason, particularly during the cinquecento. It was this same ruling class that maintained Venice's fiercely guarded independence from Rome, particularly regarding ecclesiastical matters. Giovanni Tiepolo was, for example, a staunch promoter of the Republic's unique spirituality, the cults of its own saints, and its right to make decisions for its own religious community. Venice's resistance to suppressing some of these "conventini inutili" in its territory—the Crociferi included—in the early 1650's was absolutely a protective reaction against the interference of the papacy, a brand of advocacy the Crociferi in other territories did not enjoy. Only when it was in their best financial interest did the Venetian authorities concede to the suppressions, and there is evidence that even then the Crociferi were still trying to manipulate the system. Nuncio Carafa reported to Rome that having caught the "odore di suppressione" the remaining Crociferi and their "Eccellentisimi Signori Protettori" made an impassioned *supplica* to the Senate, appealing for rescue one final time on the grounds of their ancient origins, their longstanding relationship with Venice, and the monastery's status as a refuge for the nobility. They invoked their connections to Cleto, St. Helena, the discovery of the True Cross, and the Gussoni family, reminding the Senate that they provided

> "l'educazione, e alimento di tanto numero d'Alumni di questa Patria, molti di quali sono singolarizati in lettere, Prelature e Ationi degne di rimarco".[3]

The reason the Crociferi were able to thrive and survive in Venice also explains

why the decoration of their church ended up looking as it did. The stars aligned throughout the sixteenth century, drawing together a distinguished body of learned Crociferi, connected private patrons and affluent confraternities, whose combined resources and vision converted the space into an ambitious visual response to the latest artistic and religious trends. Throughout these chapters, the Crociferi have emerged as astute patrons of art who exercised their influence over the imagery even when they were not directly responsible for the commissions. It was no coincidence that their church became a sort of shrine to Venetian Renaissance painting. The decoration they organized exhibits not only an intent to procure works by the leading artists of the time, but also a deliberate and erudite attempt to advertise their reformed status and their adherence to the central tenets of Counter-Reformation spirituality. The efforts of these Crociferi to coordinate the form, content and logistics of multiple phases of church decoration that formed a collective response to religious reform, should be viewed alongside the analogous schemes undertaken by Fra Germano at the Frari, Bernardo Torlioni at San Sebastiano, and numerous priors and parish priests at other Venetian churches during this same period.

When a church is destroyed, far more than a physical structure is lost. From the very beginning, I approached this project with an ambition to reconstruct the form of the Crociferi church, but also to restore meaning to works of art that have always been esteemed, but have rarely been properly evaluated in relation to their original setting. In excavating new information about the Crociferi community and their supporters, in bringing objects and their patrons back together and considering them in relation to one another, this pattern of deliberate and learned patronage emerged from a previously obscured context, facilitating new connections and interpretations.

Some quite interesting material that emerged from my research did not fit organically into this dissertation, but belongs to a chapter yet to be written: the afterlife of a lost monastery. The post-suppression dialogue between Rome, the papal nuncio, the Senate, and the Florentine agent Paolo del Sera surrounding the fate of the visual art belonging to the Crociferi and the Canons of Santo Spirito in Isola, reveals early awareness on the part of Venetian authorities, the public, and the painters' guild of the importance of preserving the Republic's cultural patrimony, in this case, the Tintoretto *Wedding at Cana*, and multiple works by Titian and Salviati from Santo Spirito. The solution they reached in 1659 was to create a collection of these displaced treasures in the sacristy of the recently completed basilica of Santa Maria della Salute.[4] They were reacting against the increasing scarcity of quality Old Master paintings as a result of the ravenous foreign art market; Paolo del Sera's attempt to sneak the Crociferi *Cenacolo* out of Venice and into the collection of Leopoldo de' Medici was one of many

covert sales the government increasingly felt the need to remain vigilant against.[5] By the mid-Seicento, the state was already well aware that these paintings represented a golden age in the history of the Republic. Works of the Cinquecento were privileged, and a keen awareness of the quality of paintings also emerged, perhaps not coincidentally as a language for Venetian art criticism found its voice and a wider audience with the publishing of Boschini's topographical guide to the city for the art enthusiast, and Ridolfi's lives of the Venetian painters. The popularity of these printed works, both immediate best sellers, is also evidence of the increasing celebration of regional style, and a demand from a public that clearly wanted to learn to view and appreciate it. The relocation of the Crociferi and Santo Spirito paintings to the Salute sacristy was a concerted effort to create a collection for edification of the public, something the painters' guild also emphasized when pleading their case to keep the paintings. Always sensitive of their geographic removal from other major centres of artistic innovation, the painters felt that especially fine works by their forbearers should be accessible for the instruction of future generations.

As a locus of civic and popular devotion and ceremony, the Salute was an obvious choice for the display of an impressive group of pictures. The authorities clearly understood that they were creating a relationship that would be symbiotic: the important works would have a home appropriate to their calibre and the prestige of the shrine would be enhanced by their presence. By 1664 Boschini recorded that the sacristy was serving its intended purpose as an *accademia*, visited for the purpose of study. He wrote:

"Oh Sagrestia famosa de Salute,
Dove tante Piture de valor,
Miracolosamente, dal Signor
In quel Sacrario al fin xè stà redute!

Tician, el Tentoreto, el Salviati
Sa dar la vita, e'l spirito a i colori;
Là ghe xè 'l fior de celebri Pitori;
Là ghe ecelenza de figure e d'ati.

Ghè xè la Carità, la Provindenza;
Ghè l'Agiuto divinò ghè xè 'l Castigoò
Senza fin i miracoli no' i digo;
E quel, che piase a Dio che è l'obedienza.

Adesso core tuti i forestieri
In sta nova Cademia, a far profito
Per l'invencion, dessegno, e colorito;
Per imparar de l'Arte i colpi veri".[6]

The Salute solution was to prove seminal; it was a precedent to which Venetian authorities would return a century and a half later, when faced with the thousands of works of art displaced by the Napoleonic suppressions and the epic plunder and desecration of the city's monasteries that followed. As in 1659, the threat after 1797 was foreign, but the situation was fare more dire; this city built on the spoils of war understood that the loss of their visual art represented

a loss of their identity and independence. The Salute collection, and that irrepressible Venetian spirit of "dov'era, com'era" that spurred its creation went on to inspire new repositories for the material relics of Venice's past, including the Accademia Galleries, the annexed Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, and the Chapel of the Rosary in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, where several paintings formerly in the Crociferi church—Cima's *Coronation* and Veronese's *Adoration of the Shepherds*—would find a home.

Tintoretto's *Cenacolo*, long alienated from its original home in the Crociferi refectory, hangs in the Salute, like so many works in collections all over the world, enjoying a rebirth of sorts, but also serving as a poignant reminder of *Venezia scomparsa*. At the heart of this project was a conviction shared with Ruskin, whose lament for the lost "stones of Venice" sparked subsequent efforts for reconstruction and preservation. He said: "there is no school, no lecturer, like the ruin of the ages".[7] Despite many obstacles, much has been recovered regarding the history of the elusive Crociferi and their church, material with implications that reach beyond the art historical sphere. But a glimpse at the Jacopo de' Barbari bird's-eye view reveals that the Crociferi monastery is, sadly, only one among far too many important lost buildings yet to be reconstructed, reminding us that there is still much more work to be done.

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[1] Romano, 1987, 103.

[2] Quaranta, 1998, 62.

[3] BMC, Cod. Cic.1231/XXXVI, cc. 221-222. "Supplica de Padri Crociferi soppressi dal somo Pontefice Ill.mi et Ecc.mi Sig.ri Protettori del Monastero de Padri Crociferi di Venezia".

[4] ASV, Senato Terra, filz. 663 (24 May 1659).

[5] During these same years the nuns of Santa Maria Maggiore were caught unloading valuable paintings "at dead of night" to representatives of the Aldovrandi of Bologna. The government was alerted to similar activity at Santa Maria dell'Umilità, where the Benedictine nuns were negotiating the sale of a Bassano and a Tintoretto. The monks of Santa Maria dei Servi were caught negotiating the sale of their Veronese *Feast in the House of Simon*, a picture Del Sera hoped to acquire, claiming it was more studied that the either of the artists other large feasts at San Giorgio and Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

[6] Boschini, 1660, 468-469.

[7] J. Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (London, 1851), III, 366.

Appendices

Appendix One

Index of documents preserved in the Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia

Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia, Capitolo di San Marco, Pergamene, B. 7

n. 1. 1168, July.
Richelda, relicta et commissaria Henrici navigat. de confratelli S. Eustachii, fa alcune donazioni.

n. 2. Verona, 1185, 15 January.
Lucio III mette l'ospedale di Padova sotto la protezione papale e lo libera dalla decima.

n. 3. Verona, 1186-1187, 29 April.
Urbano III mette sotto la protezione papale il Magister ed i confratelli dei Crociferi e conferma a loro le chiese di S. Golfo e S. Leonardo.

n. 4. Verona, 1187, 26 March.
Urbano III mette sotto la protezione papale il Magister e i confratelli dei Crociferi a Bologna, conferma la loro proprietà e decide altre questioni elencate in seguito una per una.

n. 5. Laterano, 1195, 1 August.
Celestino III mette sotto la protezione papale il Magister e i confratelli dei Crociferi a Bologna conferma le proprietà elencate ognuna col proprio nome, e decide altre questioni elencate in seguito una per una.

n. 6. [Before 1216]
Innocenzo III mette sotto la protezione papale l'ospedale a Rotello

n. 7. Orvieto, 1220, 9 July.
Onorio III autorizza il Magister dei Crociferi di Bologna, a dispensare dal giuramento il priore ed alcuni fratelli dell'ospedale dei Crociferi a Venezia.

n. 8. Rieti, 9 December.
Onorio III esorta tutti i cristiani della Romagna e della Marca di Ancona a dare il proprio sostegno all'ospedale presso Potenza (Pons Potentiae) e concede indulgenza di 20 giorni.

n. 9. Laterano, 1228, 26 February. Gregorio IX mette sotto protezione papale l'ospedale dei Crociferi a Negroponte.

n. 10. Perugia, 1228, 29 June.
Gregorio IX autorizza il Magister a procedere contro i confratelli che non si attengono alle regole dell'ordine.

n. 11. Perugia, 1228, 6 July.
Gregorio IX autorizza i confratelli dell'ospedale dei Crociferi a raccogliere elemosine una volta all'ano e concede altre privilegi.

n. 12. Perugia, 1228, 9 July.
Gregorio IX incarica arcivescovi ed altri prelati ad assicurare ai Crociferi i loro privilegi.

n. 13. Perugia, 1228, 11 July.
Gregorio IX sentenzia che nella formula generica "quidam alii" non è compreso l'ordine dei Crociferi.

n. 14. Perugia, 1229, 11 July.
Gregorio IX concede al procuratore dei Crociferi di Morello un grande privilegio.

n. 15. Perugia, 1229, 11 July.
Gregorio IX concede al procuratore dei Crociferi di Morello ed a tutti gli altri procuaratori un privilegio e stabilisce un interesse di riconoscimento per l'ammontare di 12 denari.

n. 16. Perugia, 1229, 13 November.
Gregorio IX vieta di visitare l'ordine.

n. 17. Perugia, 1235, 14 May.
Gregorio IX mette sotto la protezione papale l'ospedale di Venezia e conferma le proprietà a Dese. Sacrosancta Romana ecclesia.

n. 18. Terni, 1236, 15 June.
Gregorio IX mette sotto la protezione papale le chiese elencate a favore dell'ospedale di Bologna.

n. 19. Terni, 1236, 21 June.
Gregorio IX conferma all'ospeda-

le di Negroponte la donazione del Patriarca di Costantinopoli.

n. 20. Rialto, 1237, 8 July.
Thomasina filia q. Marie defuncte relicte Cuirani Moy de conf. S. Gervasii trasferisce a suo fratello Angelo Moy parti dei suoi beni ereditati.

n. 21. Laterano, 1244, 2 January.
Innocenzo IV concede ai Crociferi di Bologna che non possano essere obbligati a concedere provvigioni.

n. 22. Lione, 1245, 7 July.
Innocenzo IV mette sotto la protezione papale l'ospedale a Trento e conferma la donazione in Acquaviva.

n. 23. Lione, 1250, 29 July.
Innocenzo IV esorta tutti i cristiani a sostenere l'ospedale di Acca.

n. 24. Rialto, 1252, 25 June.
Primora relicta Henrici Lisi de confratelli S. Gervasii dona a Maurus ed Angelus Moya ai loro eredi alcuni beni.

n. 25. Laterano, 1256, 12 February.
Alessandro IV incarica arcivescevo ed altri prelati ad assicuarare i privilegi dei Crociferi.

n. 26. Laterano, 1261, 13 March.
Alessandro IV autorizza i confratelli dell'ospedale dei Crociferi a raccogliere elemosine una volta all'anno, e concede altri privilegi.

n. 27. Orvieto, 1262, 21, December.
Urban IV conferma all'ospedale di Bolgona tutti i privilegi concessi da papi e re.

n. 28. 1265-1268.
Clemente IV mette sotto la protezione papale il Magister e i confratelli dei Crociferi a Bologna, conferma la lora proprieta e decide altre questioni elencate in seguito una per una.

n. 29. Perugia, 1265, 6 May.
Clemente IV conferma al priore e ai confratelli dell'ospedale di Bologna tutti i privilegi concessi da papi e re.

n. 30. Clemente IV esorta tutti i cristiani a sostenere con elemosine l'ospedale di Acca.

n. 31. Perugia, 1265, 30 September.
Clemente IV autorizza i confratelli dell'ospedale dei Crociferi a raccogliere elemosine.

n. 32. Perugia, 1265, 9 October.
Clemente IV libera il magister e i confratelli dei Crociferi dall'obbligo di dover provvedere a pensioni o benefici in favore di qualcuno.

n. 33. Viterbo, 1267, April.
Clemente IV autorizza i confratelli dell'ospedale dei Crociferi a racco-

gliere elemosine.

n. 34. Bologna, 1268, 27 May.
Il capitolo generale e Frate Giacomo, Magister dell'ordine dei Crociferi, donano il loro ospedale di S. Maria a Creta all'ospedale di Santa Maria a Venezia.

n. 35. Venice, Rialto, 1272, 3 October.
Il doge Lorenzo Tiepolo certifica assieme al Consiglio Maggiore e il Consiglio dei Dieci.

n. 36. Rome, S. Sabina, 1286, 5 December.
Onorio IV conferma al priore ed ai confratelli dell'ospedale di Acca tutti i privilegi concessi da papi e re.

n. 37. Anagni, 1295, 28 July.
Bonfiacio VIII dà una nuova regola per l'elezione del priore di S. Maria a Venezia.

n. 39. Rome, S. Pietro, 1307, 13 May. Bonifcaio VIII toglie S. Maria a Venezia dalla giurisdizione del Patriarca di Grado e la mette sotto la protezione papale.

n. 40. Avignon, 1343, 13 February.
Clemente VI autorizza i confratelli dell ospedale de Crociferi, S Maria ad Amalfi, a raccogliere elemosine una volta all'anno e concede altri privilegi all'ospedale S. Maria ad Amalfi.

n. 41. Clemente VI conferma il documento di Urbano III

n. 42. Avignone, 1346, 9 April.
Clement VI conferma al priore e ai confratelli dell'ospedale di Bologna tutti i privilegi concessi da papi e re.

n. 43. Villeneuve, 1353, 17 July.
Innocenzo IV concede che il magister dell'ordine dei Crociferi non sia colpito da riserve pontificie generiche se non esplicitamente menzionato.

n. 44. Bologna, 1414, 29 August.
Giovanni XXIII concede all'arcivescovo di Kalocsa un salvacondotto per Angelus Coinvio.

n. 45. Costanza 1416, 7 November.
Giovanni XXIII destituisce il Magister Generale dell'ordine dei Crociferi, Tomaso Scappi.

n. 46. Il Concilio di Costanza conferma al Magister Generale Andrea Lodovico de Eugubio la rimozione del Magister Generale Tomaso Scappi.

n. 48. Rome, 1423, 30 June.
Martino V conferma al Priore e ai confratelli dell'ospedale di Bologna tutti i privilegi concessi da

papi e re.

n. 49. 1425, 22 May.
Frater Marinus, Priore dell'ospedale S. Maria a Venezia, scrive ad Andreas de Bontis de Eugubio, Magister Generale dell'Ordine.

n. 50. Rome, 1449, 20 April.
Nicola V incarica il Patriarco di Grado ed i vescovi di Jesolo e Torcello con l'insediamento del cardinale diacono Petrus di S. Maria nova nella sede di S. Maria a Venezia.

n. 51. Laterano, 1450, 28 March.
Nicola V conferma il documento di Bonifacio VIII per il convento di S. Maria a Venezia, e lo mette sotto la protezione papale.

n. 55. Rome, S. Pietro, 1485, 11 March. Innocenzo VIII decide che il priore dei Crociferi di S. Maria de Murello (Bologna) sia il capo dell'ordine come Magister Generale, prende decisioni a proposito dei suoi doveri e dell'eventuale vacanza del posto

n. 56. Roma, 1490, 6 June.
S. Pietro, in palatio causarum apostolico. Direttive dell'ufficio pontificio per Augustinus Badoer a proposito dell'esecuzione delle sentenze nel processo del priorato dei Crociferi di S. Maria Venezia per i beni del loro priorato a Creta.

n. 57 Priorato al S. Maria de Desio and
n. 58 S. Lucia de la Posta. Fra Archangelus de Cremaschis, Priore, S. Maria di Venezia, 1521, 1527.

n. 59. Venice 1530, 14 June.
Autenticazione notarile del protocollo della seduta del capitolo generale dei Crociferi di Venezia con i coninativi dei singoli membri presenti.

n. 60. 1534-1549.
Giuramento del Simon di Brescia Priore di S Maria Maddalena a Padova, sui suoi doveri e la sua obbedienza nei confronti dell'ordine e del papa.

n. 61. 1534-1549.
Giuramento del Simon del Bernardinus, Priore di S. Maria Maddalena di Padova.

n. 62. Venezia, 1544, 9 December.
Joannes de la Casa, Eletto di Benevento, ed altri collettori indicati a proposito di alcune lettere del cardinale diacono Alessandro Farnese per la riduzione delle tasse ai Crociferi di S. Maria a Venezia.

n. 63. Rome, S. Pietro, 1555, 26 May.
Paolo IV, scrive ai vescovi di Ce-

sena e Bagnoregio come anche al vicario del vescovo di Padova a proposito delle dimissioni del Priore dei Crociferi di S.Maria Maddalena a Padova e della desintazione del priorato vacante da parte di Paolo III per Simon di Brescia.

n. 64. Venezia, S. Maria, 1560, 19 December.
Franciscus Ferrius, vescovi di Vercelli e Legato scrive ai Crociferi di S. Maria a Venezia che autorizza lo spostamento della prima messa di Natale.

n. 65. Rome, 1602, 22 March.
Marcellus Lantes, prothonotarius apostolicus, protocolla la sentenza emanata dopo il processo intentato da Andreas, Priore dei Crociferi di Conegliano, per molestie subite.

Appendix Two

Transcription of the 1581 Apostolic Visit for Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi

Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Congregazione Vescovi e Regolari, Visite Apostoliche, 96, fols 70r-74r and Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica in Venezia II, Processus, 2422

Visita Apostolica, 96. (1581) f. 70r-74r.

[f. 70r]
Die mercurij 26 mis julij. 1581

Ill^{mi} et Rx^{mi} Dn Dni Laurentiaus Campegius S^{mi} Domini Nostri Papa utriusque signaturae Referendarius et praelatus domesticus ac in toto Serenissimo dom. Venetorum Dominio Nunti-Apostolicus [70v] et Augustinus Valerio, Dei et Apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Veronensis, et Comes, visitatores Apostolic Venetiarum per prelibatum [*illegible*] D. N Papam specialiter deputati in visitatione huiusmodi prosegui intendentes e contulerunt ad monasterium sancti Maria Cruciferorum Venetiarum Ordinis cruciferorum, et ipsius ecclesiam pulsantibus campanis sonante organo decantantibus fratribus ac accinsis candellis, et intortortitijs cereis super omnibus altaribus et alijs eiusdem ecclisiae locis ingressi sunt, et coram altare maiori, ubi repositum est sanctissims sacrasanctum praesabita flexis genibus oratione secreta et debita sanctissimi sacramenti adoratione, ac Thurificatione R.x Fr Hieronymus di Grassis cotta, sfola, et pluniali in dictus ad eorum mandatum e Tabernaculo magno ligneo dearato superdicto altari constructa intus pano sericeo rubeo circumvertito tabernaculum argenteum in quo dicenter

sanctissimum sacramentum reconditum erat extraxit et super ipso altari [*illegible*] Quod inspexerunt et visitarunt ac cum et eiusdem monaserij fratres totu[*illegible*] populum ibidem astantem benedixerunt. Item altare sancti Christophori inquo nonullas reliquiae, et oleum infirmorum in loco sub Icona eiusdem bene clasuo repererinatur. Altare canotae Barbarae in quo [*illegible*] gloriosissimum corpus S. Barbarae virginis, et martiris in archa marmorea super dicto altaris reposita [*illegible*] ipsius ecclesiae altaris, totam ecclesiam, sacristiam, argenta paramento honorificentissima et alea ornamenta pro usu ecclesiae necessaria omnia [*illegible*] inferius discribenda pariter inspexerunt et visitarunt.

Et deinde in eadem sacristia convocatis [*illegible*] omnibus euisdem monasterij fratribus, eos omni primo [*illegible*] Apostolica benedixerunt et postea ipsis procentibus nonnullis sermonis qpluribus sanctis bonis, et proficuis monitionibus, et [*illegible*] plenas habuernt ipsos prosprocipue hortantes.

[71r] Ad pacem, et concordiam intereos in Charitate [*illegible*] Ad regularem eorum observantiam, et debitam obedientiam Ad Lierarum studijs operam dandum

Ut crucis agnum quem gerunt continuo memoriae [*illegible*] debeant

Ad deducendum al Ill.mia Dominationum [*illegible*] notitiam quicquid pro eorum et dicti sui monasterij beneficio deducere possuntet Dominationes suae Ill. me plenè de omnibus informatae quibus opus sacris oportune providere valtant.

Ac ad alia pia, et sancta opera i prout alijs in monasterijs sacere solit sunt.

Et omnibus alijs fratribus prater R.do Patres primum visitatorem Religionis pradictae, et Priorem dicti monasterij licentiatis, ipsos visitatorem, et Priorem de nonnullis a d hane/lane visitationem necessarijss prout sibi expedire visum fiut enterroganunt.

Issiq sic Interrogatis ad [*illegible*] Interrogationes respenderunt et dexerunt

Assidue Divina offitia et precipue, in nocte officium matutinali per dicti monasterij fratres recitari.

Fratres ipsos in communione, et Charitate vivere, et in regular eorum observantia non deficere.

Literis, et Adijs operam dare

Introitus annuos dicti monasterij ad ducator quattuormille ascendere. Notitios in bonis moribus, et [*illegible*] summostudio instrui, et erudirj.

Quattuor solos confessiones audiendi officium in hoc monasterio ex omnibus fratribus exercere ipsosq ab ordinario [*illegible*] existere, prout etiam, et nonulla alij qui [*illegible*] hoc onus subire non curant et [*illegible*] approbatus ultra quadragesima [71v] eorum atatis annum constitutos esse.

Et his habitis eos etiam licentiarunt, et de rebus ad [*illegible*] visitationem spectantibus diversa colloquia, et tractatus interse habuerunt, et portea inde recesserunt.

Oleum infirmar servatum in scatula argentea, cum scatula lignea corio testa, et in capella locata in altari sub clavi tuta

Tenor discriptionis Reliquiarum, Altarium, honorum et Status ecclesiae ac sacristiae praedict., et lista nominum fra-

trum didti monasterij. De quibus supra fit mesitco sequitur, et est talis 23.

Monasterij S.ta Maria Cruciferorum. Die Mercurij 26 julij 1581.

Reliquia

Corpus S' Barbare Virg.s et m.s Caxa s Christophor. m.
Dens Maxillaris eiusdem Tibie S. Laurentij m.
Ossa S'Maxim epi et m
Caput s Gregorij Nazian[*illegible*]
Caput s Lanfrachi
Sinciput S. Sabin m.
Sanguis eiudem
ossa S. Jo: Chrisostomi epi Doct.
Os s Barnabe. Apostoli
Dens S. Blasij epi' et m' Ossa sancti Innocentum m De ligno Crucis
Spina corone Salvatoris

Altare maius Assumptionis B. M.a ornatissimum in omnibus consecratum, et [*illegible*] tela cerata; bona nulla annezza est ei societas.

Altare Annuntiation B. Mariae consecratum et ornatum in omnibus annexa est ei societas

Altare conceptionis B. Maria consecratum et ornatum in omnibus situm sub choro, Annexa est ei societas

Altare S. Barbare cum capella, in qua est corpus ipsius s.te Locatum decentissime in arca marmorea fulcita columna marmorea [72r] marmorea, et duobus angelis ex marmore, ei annexa est societas

Altare S. Laurentij consecratum, ornatum decentissime in omnibus: sed est sine capella habet dotem 22 ducatorum cum obligatione ibi celibrandi ad libitum per [*illegible*] S.mi Dn' Laurentij Massoli familia extincta est, annexa est ei societas

Altare S. Allafranchi Archiepiscopi cantavariensis consecratum situm sub organo; in reliquis decenter ornatum

Altare S. Christophori situm sub podio, quod incervit pro choro in cosunt Plurime reliquis, que dicenter servantur ornatum honorifice, annexa est ei societas

Altare sancte Crucis cum capella qua edificanda sine reparanda est i Nobilibus le Zenis.

Bona ecclesie

Crux ex argento et ex ligno
Calices duod[-]iam exargento cum patenis
Tabernaculum pro processionibus ex argento Thuribula duo ex argento cum assorris [*illegible*]

Tabella pacis exargento partim, et partim ex [*illegible*] inaurato [*illegible*] et peluij ex argento

Corporalia 20 Purificatoria 60 Vela et manutergiola solemnia, et ferialia [*illegible*] cum amictibus, et cingulis 40

Veste sacre omnium colorum [*illegible*] ritum S.te Romanae Ecclisiae praeciosae, solemne, festivae et feriales habentur omnia Integra

Missalia octo integra ex restitutis cum suis signaculis sacculi sine [*illegible*] pro corporalibus sex

Libri cantus quot necassarij sunt per choro et Psalmistae

Omnis denique sacra suppelix, que usu est [*illegible*] ministris [72v] quam sacerdotibus, et altaribus in ipsa habetur ecclesia.

Status Ecclesie

Ecclesia est satis ampla cum unica navi, pasietes decentes testum fastigiatum ex lignis, et asseribus, Pavimentum ex Lapide solido quadrato, Podium pennli interrerans e'cclesiam, quod inservit pro choro, habet crucifixum, organum, suggestum, labella pro aqua benedicta forestutas.

Sacrastia est ampla, [*illegible*], et ornata omnibus rebus neccessarij, armarijs, sedilibus, altari et loco lavandi manus, et forestutas.

Campanilis turris satis dicens cum campanis

Fratum et totus familia monasterij Crucifero Venet R.mus Pr'Generalis totius ordinis cruciferor.

D.Fr' Augustinis Gratianus Venetus

Rx.dus D. F. Zacharias Barbaro Venetus Prior

Rx.dus D. F. Jacobus Antonius Boldu Venetus Diffinitor ordinis Rx.dus D. F. Simon Rubens Brix Diffinitor

Rx.dus D. F Dionisius Padavinus Venetus Diffinitor Rx.dus D. F Julianus Cyrnus

Rx.dus D.F Liberalis Marino Venetus Prectptor Gramaticae (Vic. Monast.)

D.F Hippolitus De Angelis Venetus

D.F Thiberius Forestus Venetus

D.F Camillus Brixienus

D.F Josephus Mutonius Venetus

D.F Faustinus Bondumerio Venetus Procurator Monasterij

D.F Theophilus Michaelius Venetus sacrista

[73r]

D.F. Leander Grumius Venetus

D.F Priamus Balbi Venetus

D.F Joannes Petrus Brixiensis

D.F Thydeus Besdonus Venetus

D.F Vitus Stella Venetis

D.F Rocchus Biscardius Magister Chori Veron.

D.F Catherinus Blanchus organista Venetus

D.F Hieronymus Rubens

D.F Daniel Rabinerio Venetus

D.F Carolus Armanus Venetus

D.F Christophorus Gabriel Venetus

D.F Laurus Badoarius Venetus Praedicator

D.F Hieronymus de Grassis Bononiensis

D.F Felix Spadius Venetus Baccalareus

D.F Liberius de Conegliano

D.F Victor Basadona Venetus Diaconi

F. Julianus Valerius Venetus

F. Oliverius Albinus Venetus Suddiaconi et Accoliti

S. Silvester Veronensis

F. Angelus Amulius Venetus

F. Petrus Paulus

F. Ludovicus Venetus

F. Sigismondus Vicentinus

F. Archangelus Brixiensis

F. Jacobus Venetus Novitij

F. Octavianus Bonanienesis
F. Joannes Maria Venetus
F. Julius de Jadesa
F. Joannes Baptisto Venetus

[73v]
F. Paulus Antonius Vincentinus
F. Marinus Venetus
F. Plaudus Ven.
F. Celsus Ven
F. Fortunatus Ven
F. Modestus Ven.
F. Matheus Ven Seculares in probatione
Innocentius Veronenxis
Dominicus Vicentinus

Converti

F. Orpheus Patavinus
F. Joannes Maria Brix
F. Andrea Brix
F. Joannes Battista Brix

Famuli Seculares Thomas [*illegible*] Joseph Portinarius Joannes
Andrea Bartholomeus Sebastianus Joannes Joannes

Die venetis XI mensis Augusti 1581

Illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini visitatores apostolica Venetiarum antedicti in sacristia monasterij sancti Salvatoris insimul congregati in suprascripta ecclisia sancta Maria Cruciferorum ultra superius per eos in eadem commissa, ac praeter decreta, et hortationes generales et ordinationes et Regulas universales infascripta ordinanda esse decreverunt et [74r] ordinarunt, quae per Reverendum Auditorem eiusdim Illustrissimi Nuntij Prior dicti monasterij tradi, ac sub poenis, et in terminis in dictis regulis generalibus edendis, specificandis exequi et adimpleri mandarunt.

Quae quidem ordinata haec sunt et sequuntur videlicet.

In aurentur aliqui Calices et patena', qui vero habent emblema reficiantur et qui in usu habentur lavent[*illegible*] in menso.

Altario sub choro, et organo trasferantur in alium locum pana interdicti ipsorp.

Altaribus que sunt sin capella fiat tegumentum quod dicitur capociela ad legendam altare, et celebrantem sacerdotem in termino anni.

Die Venetis 29 m[ens]is Decembris 1581

Appendix Three

Transcription of 1656 Inventory of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, NA, A.M. Piccini, B. 11125, fols. 123r–128r

[123r]
Li Fraterni, et Scoli sono questi
La Santiss^{ma} Concetion
Cristoforo
Li Mercanti
Passamaniri
Sartori
Samitiri
Bottiri
Varotiri

Segui la Nota delli Suppellenli sacri, et Argentarii Alli Altari Maggiore

Un Tabernacolo con sui Colonille di Marmo, e chiaveta d'argento
Una Pinili d'Argento dorata continenti il Sant^{mo} Sacramento
Candilliere d'Ottoni Grandi n° 6
La Pala di mano dil Tintoretto
Dui statui di rillievo una per parti d'essa Pala
Dui Candillieri Grandi dorati di legno
Quattro Candilliere di legno argentati
Una Lampada d'Ottoni [123v]
Un Candillier Grandi per il Cerco dorato
Tovaglia, e Parapetto nel d^{to} Altari

Nell'Altare di Pietà

Una statua di legno della Madonna con nostro Sig^{re} in braccio vestita, et con un faciol di cassetta di passemano d'oro guarnito
Una Lampeda di Rami

Un Christo Piccolo d'ottoni
Una Tavoletta dell'Orationi secreti per la messa
Un'Omorilla Ducali di Panno d'oro antico
Un quadro portatile d'un Dogi Cicogna e sua effiggii

Nell'Altar di S. Cristofforo

Una Pala di d^{to} Santo
Dui Quadri uno per Parti di d^{ta} Pala
Una Tovaglia sopra l'Altari
Una Tavoletta con l'Orationi secreti della Messa
Una Croci d'Ottoni dorata
Un Parapetto
Una Lampada d'Ottoni Candillieri affissi alla Pietra n° 6

Nell'Altari di S. Giovanni

Una Pala di d^{to} S. Giovanni a mano del Palma
Reliquii diversi in una Caasa dorata con suoi Christali della conditione che si vede nella Nota, custodite ne vasi di Cristalo, et argento.
Dui Angili di legno dorati Una Tovaglia
Un Parapetto [124r]
Un Tavoletta con l'orationi secreti
Una Lampada d'Ottoni

Nell'Altari di S. Lorenzo

La sua Pala esquisitissima di mano di Titiano
Una Croce
Una Lampada d'Ottoni
Dui Candillieri di Legno

Nell'Altari di Sta. Caterina

Una Pala di d^{ta} Santa di mano incognita bella
Una Croce
Una Tavoletta con l'Orationi secreti
Dui Angili di legno
Una Lampada d'Ottoni

Nell'Altar dell'Angelo custode

Una Pala di d^{to} Angelo di man del Palma
Un Christo di Legno
Dui Candillieri di Legno
Una Tavoletta con l'Orationi secreti
Un Parapetto
Una Lampada di Rami
Un Annontiata di legno

Nell'Altar dell'Annontiata dill'uspir

Diversi statui Un Christo
Dui Candillieri di Legno
Una Tovaglia
[124v]
Una Parapetto
Un Quadro Grandi di mano di Pittori incerto da una parti della d^{ta} capella

Nell'Altar di Sta. Barbara

L'effigii di d^{ta} Santa
Il suo Corpo Santo
Un Christo di Legno
Una Tavoletta con l'Orationi secreti
Candillieri d'Ottoni affissi alla Pietra n° 6
Una Tovaglia, e Parapetto

Tre Lampadi di Rame

Diversi pitturi intorno ad una parti di essa capella di mano di Pittore incerto

La sudetta Capella si asserisce esser della fraglia di Sartori tenendo loro ancora una Chiave del sud^{to} Corpo Santo, et una stà appresso il Padri Priori, essendo tutti gl'Ornamenti, eccettuata la tovoaglia di d^{ta} fraglia.

Nell'Altar dell'Annuntiata

Una Pittura sopra legno con l'effiggii di SS. Pietro, e Paolo in tella

Diversi Quadri da tutti dui le Parti della Capella, uno di Paolo Veronese l'altro sopra tavola di mano incognita

Due altri quadri lunghi, uno dell'Annuntiata, l'atro dell'Angolo Gabriel sopra tella

Una Tovaglia

Un Parapetto

Una Croce

Una Lampada d'Ottoni

Una Tavoletta con l'Orationi secreti

Sopra la faccia del Choro [125r]

Tri Quadri grandi di mano del Palma

Un Christo di Legno

Dall'altra parti del Choro verso l'Altar magg^{re}

Una Pittura dell'Angel Pasqual di mano del Palma

Sotto il Choro

Un'Altari della Concettioni con suoi ornamenti, quali comi si asscrisce sono della scola della Concettioni.

In Sacristia

Un'Altare con sua Pala della B.V. di mano del Palma

Dui Candillieri d'Ottoni

Dui altri Candellieri dorati

Ornamento di Cuori d'oro

Una Tovaglia

Una Lampada d'Ottoni

Una Tavoletta con l'Orationi Secreti

Cinqui Quadri Grandi con suoi frisi, che atorniano la Sacristia tutti di mano del Palma con il soffitato pure con Pitture di mano del d^{to} Palma

Un Christo di legno dove si fa la preparationi per la messa

Sopra il Choro

Due Quadri con soazi dorati di mano di Pittore incerto

Libri da cantar usadi n°14 venendo data relationi dal Padri Priore che vi ne mancano tre

Nel Refettorio

Dui Quadri Grandi uno del Tentoretto Vecchio

Nota che questo quadro del Tentoretto resta per conto Publico onde fu'detto al Padri Provintiale, che lo facessi custodire sino ad [125v] altro ordine

L'altro di Odoardo

Un Christo

[125r–127v]

Paramenti in terzo (listed by colour).

[127v- 128r]

Argenti

[128r]
Et qui è il fine dell'Inventario di suppelletili, et Argentarii sacri
Hora segui il registro della Tabella

Tabella obligatione

Missi quotidiani

1. Pro D. Catherina Sartoreto
2. 2. Pro Flaminia Florinana. [128v]
3. Pro D. Ludovico Uspir
4. Pro D. Helena Uspir
5. Pro D. Marco de Benedictis
6. Pro D. Laurentio Massola ad Ara S. Laurencij
7. Pro D. Petro Zeno Ad Altare S. Crucis
8. Pro D. Andrea Selvazzo
9. Pro D. Gratiosa Prezzta
10. Pro Ser^{mo} Pr[enci]pe Pascali Ciconia ad Altari Beati Virginis Sing. Dominicis
11. Pro Franciscs Vidna
12. Pro D. Lucieta Zeno ad Altari S. Crucis
13. Pro Ludovico de Bustis
14. Pro D. Venturina Balbi
15. Pro Marieta Ruscona
16. Pro Angilica Zanibona
17. Pro Claudia Riccio
18. Pro Aloysio di Dardanis

Infra Mensile

19. Pro Barthholomeo Dedo ad Altari Privilegiati
20. Pro D. Helenda Vspir in Diebus Dominicis
21. Pro R^{do} P. Felice Spa pro defunctis
22. Pro Marieta Garbeladora
23. Pro Venturina Balbi in Diebus Dominicis
24. Pro Marco de Benedictis

Anniversaria

25. Pro D. Paulina Gustiniana et filiijs [129r]
26. Pro Daria Costa
27. Pro D. Armilina
28. Pro Helena Uspir
29. Pro D. Ludovico Uspir
30. Pro. D. Catherina Brugnola
31. Pro. D. Petro Zeno Die 25 Junij, et lampada pro sua Cappella

Pro fratibus Congregationis nostri omnis Sacerdoti celebrens
Pro Benefactoribus Congregationis omnis celebrent

Commemoratione quotidiani
Pro D. Marchesina Brugnola
Pro D. Armillina
Pro D. Daria Costa
Pro D. Aloysio di Dardanis
Pro D. Francisco Vidna
Pro Famiglia Gussona
Pro Ser^{mo} Prencipe, tota Ser^{ma} Republica, Emin. Card^{le} Protectori, et R^{mo} P. Generali

Appendix Four

Extracts from the Libro di spese of Priamo Balbi pertaining to the construction of the Crociferi library

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco de citra, Commissarie, B. 234/5, Commissaria Zen

"R[everen]do P[adre] Tiberio Foresto al p[rese]nte Prior del Monasterio et Hospital di Crosechieri e rimasto d'accordo con M[aest]ro Martino di Stefano marangon per far i banchi nella libraria, posta sopra la sagrestia, quali sarano al numero de 24 ciò è, 12, per banda in compartimento eguale. Quali banchi devono esser fatti, come sono quelli della libraria di San Zorzi maggiore di quella istessa altezza, et largezza, con li suoi ornamenti et sederi et sottopiedi, in modo che di fattura siano come quelli, eccetto che nella qualità del legnamo, perche quelli sono di Nogara et questi sarano di albedo, et sarese, di maniera che come si è detto, do vi là da esser altra differenza che del legname, ma la fattura sij come quella di san Giorgio. Et per esser la libraria assai più larga di quella li banchi debbino esser 7 piedi l'uno con li suoi fornimenti".

Appendix Five

Biographies of Distinguished Crociferi

Badoer, Lauro

Described by his uncle, Luigi Contarini, as: "Poeta singolarissimo, & celebre Predicatore, publicò alcuni Sonetti contra i setti vnij capitali, & altre honorate rime sopra le miserie d'Italia, & in altre materie, & hà scritto le vite d'alcuni Santi, ad imitatione del Zio, & le Parafrasi in versi sopra i Salmi di David, & una singolar Canzone dedicata à Papa Sisto Quinto". He was listed as a novice in 1564 (ASV, SDC, B. 33, f. 173, c. 12), served as prior at Venice in 1588, a year (PSMsupra, Com., B. G) and went on to serve as the *teologo* of the Duke of Mantua and the bishop of Alba. The Treviso manuscript describes the translation of a relic from the body of St. Barbara taken by three Venetian Crociferi, including "Prete Lauro Badoaro Teologo e predicatore famoso" to Mantua in September 1587. It was received in the chapel designed for it in the church of St. Barbara in Mantua by Cardinal Borromeo and the clergy of Mantua with "solemn pomp", and Lauro Badoaro gave an oration "con ammiratione universale". He died in 1593. His published works include: *Rime spirituali*, 1571 and *Sette salmi penitenziali*, 1594.

Baffo, Celso

A Venetian, among the final 70 Crociferi listed when the order was suppressed. Published a funeral oration to doge Leonardo Donato, 1612. Named in the dedication to Marcantonio Querini's *Rime*, 1606 (Cicogna, *Iscrizione*, IV, 428-9).

Balbi, Priamo:

He may have entered the order as a result of some existing connection between his family and the order. For example, an *anniversaria* listed in the 1656 inventory for a former prioress of the hospital, Donna Venturina Balbi (ASV, AP, c. 128v). He was recorded as a *sacerdote* at the Venetian house in 1562, 1564 and 1566, later served for a period of four years (1574-1578) as the prior of the monastery at Conegliano (ASV, NA, Leoncini, B. 7829, c. 223, c. 351; ASV, SDC, B. 33, filz. 173).
Was *hospitalano* in Venice from 1580 (ASVat, FV II, CV, 908/40).

Bianchi, Caterino

A composer of polyphonic music, who was at Venice as *sacerdote* in 1564, served as the *maestro di cappella* of S. Alessandro di Bergamo in the 1570's, and returned to Venice where he was recorded as organist in 1581 and 1592 (ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72v).

Boldù, Giacomo Antonio

He was among the highest-ranking Crociferi from about 1543 onward. He was prior at Venice in 1543 (AST, San Martino, B. 1), 1558 (PSMsupra, Com., B. 12) and 1580 (ASVat, Chiesa Varia, 908/40). He was prior of Como in 1545-6 (ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 356), procurator of the Venetian monastery in 1547 (ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. 12), prior in Naples in 1559 (ASV, NA, G.B. Benzon, B. 392), served as *diffinitor* in Venice at 1562 (ASV, NA, Leoncini, B. 7829), was Master General of the order in 1564 and prior at Rome in 1581. As vicar general of the Venetian house, he joined Lauro Badoer in accompanying a relic of St. Barbara from Venice to Mantua in 1587, where it was placed in a chapel built in her honour by the duke.

Boldù, Marc'Antonio

His 1571 history of the Crociferi in manuscript form was probably the major source for Leoni's version a quarter century later. He is first recorded in Venice in 1555 (ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 375). He was prior at Salerno in 1556 (ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 391), and in 1562 he was back at Venice, but drew a salary for his services at Conegliano where he officiated at the church and taught grammar from time to time (AST, San Martino, B. 1). I suspect that he was related to another prominent Crocifero in these years, Jacopo Antonio Boldù. Both may have been related to the Boldù family with a palazzo in the vicinity of the church.

Catena, Nicolò

Quirini addresses him in the dedications to his *Rime*, and at the time of Querini's *Lettere*, Catena was Master General. Died in 1621. A family connection seems to have existed between the Catena and the Crociferi. A nearby *calle* is named for the family,

one Laura Catena was *priora* of the hospital (1630), and a Tommaso Catena was buried at the church. (BMC, Tassini, *Cittadini veneziani*, II, 49)

Cirno, Giuliano

First recorded as prior of the monastery at Campo S. Pietro (ASPat, Cap. San Marco, B. 7). Prior at Venice as early as 1541 (BCT, Mss. 474, c. 573v), a post he held on and off into the 1580's: 1544-5 (AST, San Martino, B. 1 and ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 356), 1546 (Benzon, B. 362), 1547 (San Martino, B. 1), 1551 (ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. 12), 1554-6 (ASV, NA, Pellestrina, B. 10650, c. 573r-v, ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. 103 and B. 104), 1558 (ASV, NA, G.B. Benzon B. 392), 1581 (ASVat, Vis. Ap. 96). He was procurator of the monastery in 1562 (ASV, NA, Leoncini, B. 7829) and Master General of the order in 1575 and 1578 (PSMsupra, Com., G). He was last recorded in Venice in 1587.

Confalonieri, Girolamo

Noted by the anonymous author of the Treviso manuscipt as "Girolamo Confalonieri, Notissimo in ogni sorte di lettere, et oratore" (BCT, Mss. 474,

619). Some sources claim he was Milanese, but he was more likely from Brescia. Confalonieri is first recorded in 1519 at Venice, where (as vicar of the monastery) he reached an accord on behalf of the Crociferi with the Scuola della Concezione for an altar at the church (ASV, Provveditori di Comun, Reg. O, c. 309v). He was prior of Santa Maria Madalena of Padova in 1530, 1535 and 1538 (ASPat, Cap. San Marco, B. 7; ASV, Sopraintendenti alle Decime in Rialto, B. 1233, c. 156; ASV, PSMcitra, Com., B. 234/5). He was prior of Salerno and procurator of the order in 1543 (BCT, Mss. 474.). He was procurator of the Venetian monastery in 1535 (ASV, Decime, B. 1233, c. 156) and prior in 1548, 1549, 1550 and 1553 (ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. 104; AST, Martino e Rosa, B. 1; ASV, PSMcitra, Com., B. 234/5; ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 364/5, c. 427r;). In 1553 he settled an agreement with Nicolò Zen for property between the hospital and Zen palace (ASV, NA, G.B. Benzon, B. 392). When he was not serving as prior, he remained among the highest-ranking *frati*, usually second to Giuliano Cirno throughout the 1550's. We know from an inscription recorded above the door to the sacristy of the Paduan church (left by his nephew, Simone Rossi ("Simon Rubens Bressan"), who succeeded his uncle as prior there at the behest of Paul IV) that he died in 1558 at the age of 73 (BCT, Mss. 474, 419r). He was especially beloved at the monastery at Padua because he has been the one to restore it, and left his mark, presumably as he departed for Venice, with a monument above the lateral door to the church, signed and dated 1549 by Gian Girolamo Grandi (lost). An *anniversaria* and an endowment for two masses a week amounting to 300 ducats for one D. Francesco Confalonieri Chierico di Milano was recorded amongst the ongoing obligations of the monks of the Paduan monastery in 1652. It is possible that this per-

son was somehow related to Girolamo Confalonieri (ASVat, CSR, 24, c. 98r.).

Contarini, Luigi (Alvise)

There is some indication that he may have been the nephew of Gasparo Contarini who edited his uncle's *Opere*. His dates do not rule out the possibility, however beyond his own prolific literary output, I have not found any additional information to support the claim. Contarini himself states that he became a Crocifero at age 10, was a student of history, rhetoric and poetry. Sansovino singled out amongst the notable authors of his time. He was first recorded at Venice in 1548 (ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 356/7) and again in 1554, 1555, 1556, 1558, 1566 (Benzon, B. 375, NA, Figolin, B. 5588, G.B. Benzon, 392/3 and Figolin, B. 5604). He spent a number of years at Naples, presumably as prior (ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. G), before returning to Venice (probably in 1581, as he is not listed in the apostolic visit) where he was prior at Venice at least once in 1582 (AST, San Martino, B. 1). He was among the four Crociferi charged with revising the constitution in 1587. His nephew, Lauro Badoaro, an author and preacher, was also a prominent Crocifero. His known published works are as follows:

Rime di dversi eccellenti autori raccolte e mandate in luce con un discorso di Girolamo Ruscelli, 1553.

L'antiquità, sito, chiese, corpi santi, reliquie e statue di Roma, 1569, reprinted 1575.

La nobilità di Napoli in dialogo, 1569.

Vago e dilettevole giardino, 1597, reprinted 1589, 1590, 1602, 1607, 1616, 1619, 1660, 1683. (Dedicated to nephew Lauro Badoaro)

Genealogia degli antichi Hebrei Della ottima bellezza della Donna Dell'origine della Patria del Frioli.

Cremaschi, Arcangelo

Cremaschi was prior at Venice in 1497, 1529 and 1534 (ASV, NA, Benzon, B. 356/7), and Master General of the order in 1501 (ASV, Arti, Varoteri, B. 719), 1513 (ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. 12), 1521 and 1527 (ASPat, Capitolo di San Marco, B. 7). Sanudo tells us that while Master General Cremaschi was responsible for the resolution of the controversy regarding the replacement of the Venetian prior with a thirteen year-old boy. In this same capacity, at Bologna, he initiated a project to rebuild the church after a fire (ASVat, CSR, 24, c. 19r). When he died in 1545 he was buried beneath the high altar at Bologna with an inscription: "Archangelo Cremaschi huomo di bellissime lettere, Generale" (BCT, Mss. 474, c. 613r).

Fiamma, Paolo

Was prior at Venice, specialised in hagiography, and was a correspondent of Querini. Was among the last 70 Crociferi at Venice in 1652 and was buried at the church.

Santa Barbara miracolosa in Sassonia: Tragedia di lieto fine, 1638.

Vita di san Leone Bembo Vescovo di Modone venerato nella chiesa della Beatissima Maria della Humilità, 1646.

Florì, Bernardo

Bishop of Canea, member of Accademia of the Alletati. Edited a group of works of Fra Paolo Sarpi.

Gatta, Francesco

A Venetian Crocifero, philosopher, theologian, composer and preacher, who read publicly in the Accademia dei Nobili in Venice. (BCT, Mss. 474, c. 617)

Gussoni, Teodosio

Contarini stated that he was a "Filosofo Tedogene". He was Master General of the Order and a correspondent of Marcantonio Querini. He was still alive in 1652 and living at Venice (ASVat, CSR, 24). His personal library contained 140 titles when the monastic library was inventoried at the end of the sixteenth century.

Leoni, Ambrogio

Remembered by Contarini as "nepote di Benedetto Leon, humanista raro, singolar Filosofo, honorato Theologo, & di honesta, & Santissima vita". His *La Taide convertita, rappresentazione spirituali* was published in 1600, by the same Venetian publisher, Grazioso Percacino, with whom Benedetto had published his history of the order a few years previously. He was recorded at Venice as early as 1589 (Figolin, B. 5641).

Leoni, Benedetto

Recorded by Contarini as "Teologo, Filosofo, & Poeta". He was a committed reformer, something reflected in his published works. Went on to serve as bishop of Arcadia in Crete. He is first recorded as prior at Padua in 1575 (ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. G.), was prior at Venice in 1589 (ASV, NA, Figolin, B. 5641), Master General of the order in 1591 (*Memoriale*) and 1594 (ASV, NA, Figolin, B. 5640). He published his condensed version of the revised constitution in 1591 and his history of the order in 1598, as well as:

Una nuova canzone di Benedetto Leoni (Venice, 1577).

Canzone fatta intorno allo stato calamitoso della inclinta citta di Ven nel colmo del maggiore suoi passati travagli per le peste (Bologna, 1577).

Leoni, Stefano

Probably a relative (possibly a brother) of Benedetto Leoni, Stefano was a novice in Venice in 1564 (ASV, SDC, B. 33, f. 173, c. 12), was registered in the catalogue of the Collegio Teologico in Bologna in 1594 (S. Mazzetti, *Università e l'Istituto delle scienze di Bologna*, 325). He was described by Contarini as "Filosofo, & honorato Theologo". He went on to serve as Master General of the order in 1593 (PSMcitra, Com., B. 234/5, *Libro di Spese*) and approved the expenses for the rebuilding of the Venetian library when he visited the monastery in 1595, still Master General.

Marso, Giovanni Antonio
(Harmonio de' Rossi)

Contarini defined him thus: "Veronese, Crucifero, musico, Organista, & Comico eccellente". He was in fact a native of the Abruzzi. Appointed organist of San Marco in September 1516, a post he held until 1552. Author of the Latin comedy, *Stephanium*, published in 1502 and performed in the cloister of Santo Stefano. Mentioned by Sabellico and Sansovino (*Venetia città, 1581)* as one of the early *recitatori* of comedies in Venice, and was noted by Anton Francesco Doni (*Libreria*, 1551) as one of the founders of a musical academia in conjunction with the actor Antonio Molino. See: N. Pirrotta, "'Commedia dell'Arte' and Opera" *The Musical Quarterly*, 41(1955): 305-24 and F. Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nella già capella ducale di San Marco in Venezia*, 72.

Querini, Marcantonio

His name at birth was Sebastiano Querini; he published under this name initially, probably before he entered the order of the Crociferi. He was certainly Venetian, as he refers to Venice as his "patria" and published exclusively in the city. Cicogna speculates that his absence from the various branches of the Querini family trees suggests that he was in illegitimate son, possibly of Vincenzo Querini. He was a member of the Accademia degli Intenti in Pavia, and on their behalf wrote to the Master General (Teodoro Gussoni) for his blessing to put their findings regarding Amore divino to print. As a preacher he gave sermons at Naples (1606), San Marco in Venice (1612), San Petronio, Bologna (1616), Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo (1617), San Zaccaria, Venice (1620), Vicenza cathedral (1625). He eventually became the archbishop of Naxos and Paros (1621-2). His works in print include many editions of his *Rime* and *Lettere*.

Rime, 1606 and *Rime sacre e morali*, 1612, *Rime, sonnetti e madrigale*, 1613.
Lettere (in three parts), 1612, 1615. *La Bella Pescatrice,* 1613.
La Bella Serva, 1616.
La meraviglia, 1617.
Gli aspetti del cielo, 1619.
Iole Aurora. Dialogo et panegirico, 1620.
Iole Indovina. Panegirico, 1620.
De' Soliloquii del Padre Maestro Marcantonio Querini Crocifero con gli Argomenti a ciascuno di essi, & con le descrittioni segnatte in margine. Opera per tutti giovevole et curiosa; ma in particolare a Religiosi, Predicatori, oratori, virtuosi, & divoti. 1621.
Il Manuale de' Grandi, 1656.

(De') Rossi, Girolamo

Contarini describes him as "Filosofo, Teologo, Poeta, & Predicatore". Master General in 1598; Leoni dedicated his history of order to him. Corespondent of Marcantonio Querini (*Lettere*).

Rossi, Giulio

Venetian, composed works of "musica

symbolum" and translated the works of Areopagita into the *volgare*.

Semitecolo, Ottaviano

Contarini described him as "Predicator unico, & Teologo". He was apparently so successful as a preacher that the alms raised by his sermons contributed to the renovation of San Luca of Verona. He was dead by 1593, when an inventory was made of his belongings (ASV, NA, Figolin, B. 5646, c. 482r).

Stridonio, Nicolò

According to Contarini he was "Vescovo Millepotenie, nella latina, & greca linguadottissimo". Was the first to read Greek in the Collegio di Roma de Greci instituted under Gregory XIII. First recorded as prior of Santa Maria di Candia in 1558-1559 (ASV, PSMsupra, Com., B. 103, fasc. 9), was at Venice in 1563 (ASV, NA, Leoncini, B. 7829), was procurator of the monastery in 1570 (ASV, NA, Figolin, B. 5696).

Zen, Nicolò

Another member of the Zen ai Crociferi who went on to join the Crociferi. "Fratis Nicolai Zeno ordinis cruciferorum" listed among the *capitolo* of the Venetian Crociferi (ASV, NA, Figolin, B. 5627 (1578), B. 5696 (1593), and as prior of SS. Zeno e Barbara at Padua in 1594 (B. 5640). Corresponded with Marcantonio Querini.

Zen, Pietro:

Was prior at Bologna when Lauro Badoaro dedicated his Rime to him in 15 71. Marcantonio Querini wrote to him in Naples, where he was prior. Was probably a member of the Zen ai Gesuiti.

Other Crociferi singled out by Contarini:

Andrea Valier
Filosofo, Theologo, & Predicator

Alvise Bollani
Filosofo, Theologo, & d'alto intellecto

Enea Spacino
Greco, Latino, Hebreo, Musico, & universale

Felice Spudi
Crocifero Filosofo, Teologo, & Predicatore

Francesco Gatta
Filosofo, & Theologo raro universale, & Predicatore

Cleto Cremasco
Letterato, Filosofo; & Theologo

Floriano Ghirardelli
Filosofo, & Theolgo

Ludovico Bollani
Dottore theologo, bishop of Candia

Appendix Six

Extracts from the diaries of Marin Sanudo: Preaching and Theatrical Performance at the Crociferi Monastery

Diary Entries on Preaching:

April 1507:
Franciscan Fra Bonaventura of Verona preached, and in March 1508, Martin da Zenoa preached at the church, then went on to the "caxa dil doxe a lezer certe letere". [Vol. VII, 40, 339.]

March 1516
Pontremolo of the Frati Menori preached at the Crociferi church and San Marco. [Vol. 22]

March 1518:
"Hironimo spagnol" preached at San Marco and at the Crociferi. [Vol. 25, 353.]

January 1521:
Fra Ruffin Lovato Franciscan preached at "San Zacharia, et a l'incontro sier Piero Zen e altri voleno el predichi a Crosechieri". [Vol. 29.]

February 1522:
Sermon by a "fratonzello di l'hordine di San Francesco". [Vol. 32, 439]

December 1522:
Fra' Cornelio da Perosa preached to "grandissimo concorso di zente". [Vol. 33, 529-30.]

March 1526: Fra Beneto di Foiano preached at San Marco, then at the Crociferi church. [Vol. 41, 113.]

April 1532:
Fra Zacaria. [Vol. 54]

Others preachers at the Crociferi church:

Luigi Dragan "Grifalconi", "dottissimo nelle lingue, hebrea, greca, latina", who also preached at San Giorgio Maggiore and the church of Santa Maria dei Servi. He also preached in Rome for Leo X, and France for King Francis I. (Martinelli, 1684, 166; L. Contarini, 1586, 448)

In 1502 Marc'Antonio Sabellico, the noted orator and historian, delivered an oration on the occasion of the feast of the Assumption. (R. Chavasse, "Latin Lay Piety and Vernacular Lay Piety in Word and Image" *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996), 322.)

Diary Entries on Performaces "ai Crosecchieri":

February 9, 1522:
"In questa sera, a li Crosechieri, con licentia di Capi di X, licet sia parte nel Consejo di X non si possi dar licentia, per Cherea luchese, novamente venuto di Roma, fu fato una comedia over cosa di amore, di Philarete inamorato in Charitea, et uno Caliandro lo conseglia, et per via di uno orbo fu ajutato et ebbe l'amata. Et li intermedii fo suo Zuan Polo con suo fiol, che ave dil bon". [Vol. 32, 445.]

February 13, 1522:
"In questa sera, a li Crosechieri fo recitata una altra comedia in prosa, per Cherea luchese e compagni, di uno certo vechio dotor fiorentino che havea una moglie, non potea far fioli etc. Vi fu assaissima zente con intermedii di Zuan Pollo e altri bufoni, e la scena era si piena di zente, che non fu fato il quinto altto perche non si poté farlo, tanto era il gran numero di le persone". [Vol. 32, 458.]

February 16, 1522:
"Fu di novo a li Crosechieri recitata la comedia dil firentino non compita l'altro zorno". [Vol. 32, 466.]

February 23, 1522:
"In questa sera, ai Crosecheri fo recitata una comedia in prosa di Caladra, fata però zà alias pur in questa terra". [Vol. 32, 487.]

January 5, 1523
"In questa sera a Crosechieri fu recitata una comedia nova in versi per Cherea luchese et altri compagni. Compi hore 6 di note". [Vol. 33, 564.]

January 16, 1523:
"Eri sera a Crosecheri fu fata una bellissima comedia, zoè recitata per Cherea luchese, cosa nova et molto piacevole". [Vol. 33, 581.]

January 26, 1523:
"In questa sera fu fatta ai Crosechieri una commedia". [Vol. 33, 592.]

Appendix Seven

Extracts from the inventory of the Palazzo of Ludovico Usper

ASV, Giudici del Petizion, B. 342/7 n. 26

[4v]
Un quadro grande de nostra donna con fornimento dorado
Un quadro grande con una donna che suona de lauto con fornimento dorado
Un quadro grande del retratto del q. Ec-c^{mo} Sr Ludovico Usper con fornimento dorado Un altro quadro simile della Donna, che taglio li Capelli à santo con fornimento dorado

[5r]
Un altro quadro con fornimento dorado di Giudi che taglio la testa di Olofernes
Doi quadri con fornimenti doradi di ritratto della q. S^{ra} Helena moglia del q. S. Ludovico Una Lettura grande di noghera intagliata dorada con quattro figure

[5v]
Nella camera sopra canal grande 3 Palme Vecchio sopra il camin

[7v]
Un quadro grande della Casa
4 Quadri ovadi con suoi fornamenti doradi 12 teste de Imperadorj de Carton, over stucco
Una nostra donna de Bronzo opera del Sansovin 4 Palme

[18v-19r]
Un sattiro de bornzo con venere legato a un albero Una figura a Cavallo de Bronzo
Una Navisella con cinq figurete de bronzo Quadri di fiandra
Uno Napamondo in Quadro grande

Appendix Eight

Inscriptions from monuments in the Church of the Crociferi

Funerary Monument to Ippolito Verardi by Giambattista Bregno

HIPPOLITO VERARDO CESENATI RARISSIMAE INDOLIS PVERO IN QVO EXORNANDO DVM NATVRA CVM ARTE ET VIRTVS CVM DOCTRINA CERTATIM CONTENDVNT FATI VIS INVIDA PVLCHERRIMVM ORNAMENTVM MALA DISPARAVIT MANV. VIXIT ANNOS XVII. M. III. D. IIII. HORAS II. OBIIT NONAS APRILIS MDIII. CAMILLVS EQVES PONTIFICIVS ET SIGISMVNDVS MOESTISSIMVS PATER NON SINE LACRIMIS P

(E. Cicogna, *Corpus delle iscrizioni di Venezia*, [1824-1853] Venice, 2001, 879, from Palfero)

Chapel of Alvise Dardani

ALOYSIO DARDANIO DE REP. SENATVQ. VENETO OPTIME SEMPER MERITO NOVISSIME VERO SVB GALLICI BELLI TVMVLTV MIRANENSIS AGRI MENSTRINI ORDEACIQ. LEGATO AB EODEM SENATV DESIGNATO VNA CVM ANDREA GRITTO VRBE PATAVIO RECEPTA SERVATAQ. A DVRISSIMA HOSTIVM OBSIDIONE VENETIAS SVMMA CVM LAVDE REDEVNTI SVPREMO A SECRETIS SENATVS TOTIVS VRBIS IMMENSA GRATVLATIONE DECLARATO IACOBVS FILIVS PIENTISS. PATRI OPTIMO POSTERISQ. HOC MONVMENTVM P. VIXIT ANNOS LXXVIIII. OBIIT MDXI

(E. Cicogna, *Corpus*, 879, from Palfero)

Massolo-Querini Altar of St. Lawrence

LAVRENTIO MASSVLO VIRO PATRITII ORDINIS OPTIMO IN CVIVS OBITV TOTA ET NOBILIS MASSVLORVM FAMILIA FINEM HABVIT ISABETTA QUIRINA VXOR PIENTISS. M. P. OBIIT ANNO SALVTIS MDLVI. MENSE IAN

(E. Cicogna, *Corpus*, 876, from Sansovino)

Zen Chapel

PETRO ZENO CATHERINI/ EQ. F. KTHERINVS ET/ FRATRES PIENTISS. F./ SIBI ET HEREDIBVS/ MDXXXIX/ VII. KAL. IVLY.

(Still present on the pavement in the chapel of St. Francis Xavier)

KTARINVS. ZENO. PE. FI./ POST. LEG. APUD. TVR. IMP. / FV.CTA. DVM. IIII. CONSS./ AGERET. OBIIT/ VIXIT. AN.O LXXVII./ NI. FI. M. P. MDLVI

(Still present on the right wall of the chapel of St. Francis Xavier)

Da Lezze Monument

PRIAMO LEGIO ANDREAE FILIO D. M. PROCVRATORI CVIVS/ CUM INCREDIBILEM VITAE INTEGRITATEM TVM EXIMIAM IN/ ADMINISTRANDA REP. SAPIENTIAM POSTERITAS OMNIS ITA IN/ PERPETVVM PRAEDICABIT VT EA ADMIRARI FACILIVS POSSIT Q. IMITARI/ IOHANNES FILIVS EQVES COMES AC PROCVRATOR FECIT C./ VIXIT ANNOS LXXXVIII. OBIIT VI. IDVS SEPT. MDLVII

IOANNI LEGIO/ PRIAMI. F. EQ. COMITI/ D. MARCI. PROCVRATORI/ APVD. CAROLVM. IX. GALLIARVM/ CAROVM. V. ROMANORVM. REGES/ LEGATIONIBVS

PERFVNCTO/ IN. DALMATIA. CONTRA. TVRCAS/ SVMMO. CVM. IMPERIO/ IN. PATRIA. TVTANDA/ SVADENDA/ FORTI.PRVDENTI. PIO/ IOANNES. ANDREAE. PROC. F./ TANTO. AVO/ V. A. IXXIV. OBIIT. NON./ MARTIAS/ MDXXC.

ANDREAS LEGIVS/ D. MARCI PROCVRATOR/ EXIMIAS PARENTIS/ IOAN. EQ. PROCVRATORIS/ VIRTVTES ADMIRATVS/ DIGNITATE PARTA/ AMPLITVDINE SERVATA/ FELICITATE QVAESITA/ AETERNAM TANDEM/ LXXVIII. AETATIS ANNO/ EST. ADEPTVS/ VI. KAL. NOVEMBREIS/ M.DC.IV./ IONNAS FILIVS/ PATRI M

Monument to Pasquale Cicogna

PASCHALIS CICONIAE/ VENETIARVM PRINCIPIS MEMORIAE SEMPITERNAE/ QVI POST REMP. DOMI FORIS E DIGNITATE SAEPIVS ADMI/ NISTRATAM POST CRETENSEM INSVLAM CVI PER DECENNI/ VM SVMMO CVM IMPERIO PRAEFVIT IN NAVALI AD ECHINA/ DAS PRAELIO INCOLVMEM RESERVATAM QVA CAVSA CYDO/ NES ILLI STATVAM IN FORO E. C. PATRIAE SVAE TANDEM/ PRINCEPS MIRA OMNIVM CONSENSIONE CREATVS EAM/ PARITER PER DECENNIVM TANTA ASSIDVITATE ET DILI/ GENTIA GVBERNAVIT VT DE EIVS COMMODIS ATQ. VTILI/ TATIBVS NON PRIVS FINEM FECERIT QVAM ANIMAM/ EFFLAVERIT ET AD SVPEROS CVM DIV AETERNITATI SVAE/ INTERFVISSET NON SINE OPINIONE SANCTITATIS EVOLAVIT/ OBIIT DIE. II. APRILIS. MDXCV. AETATIS SVAE ANNO LXXXV./ MENS. X. DIES XXV./ PASCHALIS CICONIA EX FRATRE NEPOS MAESTISS. P. C

(Relocated above the sacristy door, originally above door to the cloister)

Appendix Nine

Transcription of the agreement between the Crociferi and the Guild of the Stampadori e Librai

ASV, NA, Fiume, B. 5698, cc. 36v–38r

Conventio mon^{rio} Sanctae mariae cruciferorum di venet. MCCCCCLV, Die XXII mensis septembris.

Rx.D^{s} f.^{r} Julianus Prior
Simon di Brixia Prior Padoa, vic[ario] dicti monasterij
Thomas di Campo S. Petri, prior Tergesti
Raymundus Venetus Prior Cremmsis
Julius de Rubeis Venetus
Raynaldus di Pissaro
Jo:Baptista di agnilla
Thiberius Venetus
Augustinus Venetus Prior Salmona
Hipplolitus Venetus
Hieronymus Boldu venet. Prior altre mille
Zaccarius Venetus
Pius Venetus
Marcus antonius Boldu venetus

Noi Prior Et Capitolo del Mon^{rio} delli Crosacchieri di Venetia havendo veduto il buon' Animo di Voi intervenienti per la Fraterna delli Stampadori; che è di volerij ridurre Al Mon^{rio} nostro per trattare le cose concernente alla Fraterna vostra. Vi dicemo, et contentamo osservarvi quanto qui sotto serà scritto

Che Ad honore et laude del N. S. Dio, contentamo ci conprometteme, ogni prima Domenica di ciascuno Mese, farvi celebrare una messa bassa; Però senza impedimente delle Altre schole piu antiche nella Chiesa nostra.

Che ogni volta vorrete ridurvi à fare il vostro Capitolo per trattare le cose vostre, si offerimo commodarvi di un luoco capace et honorevole per tale effetto.

Che ogni prima Domenica del Mese, che farete dire la Messa vi supplica et vorrete mettere Bancho per scuoter le vostre limosine dalli Fr[ate]lli v[ostri] si offerimo commodarij per quella mattina del nostro Capitolo, et metter se vi pererci il Banco in Chiesa per quella mattina.

Contentamo, che siate in libertà, di fare una cassa, per allogare le v. cose et cere, et quella possiate metter' nella nostra sacristia.

Che in recompensa della missa et per le commodità à voi promesse, semo contenti delli tre ducati all'anno da voi offertone per limosina; Et che tutte le predette cose se ne habbia à fare publico istrumento per chiarezza della verità.

Appendix Ten

Extracts from the Condizione di Decima of the Crociferi (1564)

ASV, Sopraintendenti alle decime del clero, B. 33, f. 173

[1]
Mansonarie lassati da diversi a detto Monast^{o} lequal si pagano come qui sotto

M^{ria} lassata per mad^{na} Lugretia Zeno con obligo de dir una messa al giorno __ 12 duc

M^{ria} lassata per S. And^{a} Salvazo con obligo de dir una messa al giorno _____ 15 duc

M^{ria} lassata per M. Damian Moro paga la scuola de Sta Maria di Mercadanti con obligo di dir una messa al giorno ne l'hospadal nostro _____ 2 duc 12

M^{ria} lassiata per Mad^{na} Armelina fu Priora nel nostro Hospadal, si scuolde da duc 6 in c^{a} de affitto de alcune Terre poste sotto seravale, liqual duc 6 vano destabuidi fra tutti li sacerdotti con obligatio de dir una messa al giorno _____ duc

M^{ria} lassata per Mad^{na} Daria Costa fu Priora del nostro hospadal duc 12 all'anno delli qualli danari duc 8 va destribuidi alli padri sacerdotti, et duc 2 alli novicij del Monast^{o} e duc 2 nelle Core per far lesequio, ogn'anno, con obligation de dir una messa al giorno _____ duc

M^{ria} lassata per M Alvise dardani fu Canc^{r} grande duc 10 delliqual danari duc 9 vano destribuidi a tre sacerdotti del Mon^{o} elletti per il R^{do} Pre Prior per 3 anni con obligation di dir una messa per uno al giorno, et duc 1 per Core per far l'eseguio che se

fa ogn'anno, acoto dellaqual Manss[a] suo Fiol ha consegnato una Casetta In Villa de Mogiano, dellaqualgia molti anni non s'ha scosso cosa ne una duc _____ duc

M[ria] lassata per M. Franc[o] dalla vedoa Pagano li suoi eredi con obligo de dir una messa al giorno _____ 10 duc

Lutile che si Cava dalle scuole poste nella chiesa de Crosechieri

Scola di sartori all'anno _____ 5 duc
Scola di Samitari _____ 5 duc
Scola di Varoteri _____ 3 duc
Scola di bottari _____ 4 duc
Scola di Pelizari _____ 2 duc

[2]
Coppia di livelli s'atrova haver il Monastero fuori della terra

Paga de livello li eredi del q. Cl[mo] M Piero Zen per una possessio detta Sonomarin nel terr[o] de Mestre _____ 80 duc

Paga Il Cl[mo] M Nic[o] Zen de livello de una possessio posta à terzo sotto di Mestre ___ 80 duc

[5]
Paga di fitto li eredi del q. Cl[mo] M steph[no] Thiepolo proc[r]: de una possessio posta nella villa de Marcon sotto Mestre, paga per una possessio posta nella contra de San Nic[o] dal Boscho_____ duc

[10]
Sallaradi pagadi ordinamente per Il detto Monast[o] all'anno

A M. Agnolo Filogienio maestro de gramatica, et de grecho, per Insegnar alli novitij Diaconi et sudiachoni et altri _____ 40 duc

A M. Nic[o] Comano medico _____ 22 duc

Al m[ro] Insegna à sonar a 3 padri ___ 16 duc

Al R[do] Pre M[ro] Agnolo, per leggier Teologia et Filosophia alli pri et gioveni _ 40 duc

Al Fattor da padoana _____ 6 duc 16

Al Fattor de Trivisana _____ 6 duc 16

A 3 barbieri _____ 12 duc

A l'organista _____ 33 duc

A m[ro] Vic[o] di colombi per tenir al'ordine l'organo della chiesa _____ 6 duc

[Other expenses for lavandara, cuogo, sotto cuogo, dui famegi, canavaro]

A total of 304 ducats were paid out in salaries.

Spese de viver et altro _____ 1222 duc

Per spese de amaladi et forestieri ___ 180 duc

[11]
Per Cl. Mag[o] Piero Zen fu del M[o] M Jo' batt'a per l'ha Interesse de duc' 2000 hauti

da s. M. per Fabrichar el Monast^{o}
Per spese si fano la settimana s^{ta} In chiesa, et per molti gientil'ho'i che si retirano qui a viver con li pri nelli giorni s^{ti} per la lungeza di offij, è necessario far magior spesa in viver de l'ordinario _____ 20 duc

[12]
Le Boche ordinarie s'atrova haver detto Mon^{o}

Sacerdoti
Il R^{do} Pre' Fra Jacomo Ant^{o} Boldu g.n.al
Il R^{do} Pre' Fra Olivier Ferro Prior
Il Pre' Pietro Paulo Fossano Vicario
Il Pre' Agostino Gratiano Proc^{r}
Il Pre' Hieremia da Verona
Il Pre' Rinaldo da Pesaro
Il Pre' Bernardino da Vic:^{a}
Il Pre' Hypp^{to} Angieli
Il Pre' Camillo da Bressa
Il Pre' Michiel Venetiano
Il Pre' Thiberio foresto
Il Pre' Liberal Marino V.^{no} [Venetiano]
Il Pre' Zacc^{a} Barbaro
Il Pre' Nicolo Stridonio V.^{no}
Il Pre' Faustino Bondumier
Il Pre' Hier^{mo} Boldu
Il Pre' Fran^{co} Gatta V.^{no}
Il Pre' Valerio da Bollogna
Il Pre' Teophilo Michiel
Il Pre' Priamo Balbi
Il Pre' Vicenzo V.^{no}
Il Pre' Arcangelo da Piove de Sacho
Il Pre' Leandro Pasqualigo
Il Pre' Thiberio Beloni V.^{no}
Il Pre' Oratio Forte da Napoli
Il Pre' Gasp^{ro} Guinciguera V.^{no} [Vinciguera]
Il Pre' Thimosto Machiaveli Vesent
M^{ro} de Gram^{ca}
M. Agnolo Filogrenio

Diaconi
Fra Cornelio Boldu Fra Ant^{o} Zorzi

Sudiaconi
Fra Rocco da Verona
Fra Hier^{mo} grasso da bollogna
Fra Ant^{nio} Trivisano
Fra Dario da Belveder
Fra Gabriel Pizzamano

Novitij
Fra Pelegrin Veronese
Fra Cleto Trentino
Fra Lauro badoer
Fra Stephano leone
Fra Roberto V.^{no}
Fra Seraffino Mozetti V.^{no}
Fra Felise V.^{no}
Fra Bernardino Padano
Fra Ortensio V.^{no}
Fra Domenego Moro V.^{no}
Fra Massimo Michiel
Fra Cesaro V.^{no}
Fra Damiano V.^{no}
Fra Alessandro Nani
Fra –Usrbro [Urbano?] Porto Visentin

Conversi
Fra Orteo, Benetto, Liberal, Martino

Michiel Cuogo Piero sottocuogo
And^{a} s.^{r} per Far il pane

Total "bocche" = 59

Addenda

I

Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* and its Original Location in the Lost Venetian Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi

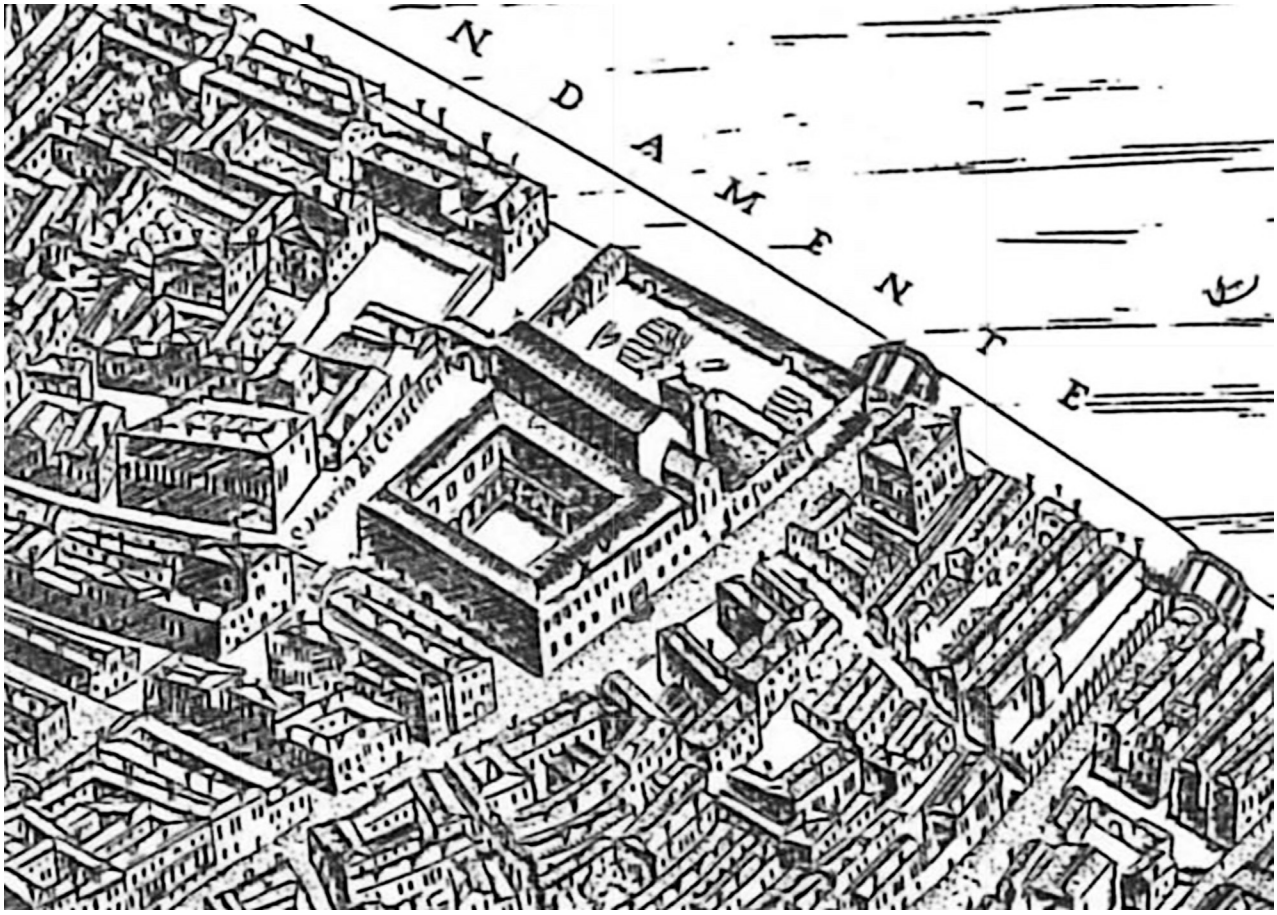
Since the middle of the eighteenth century, the first left-hand lateral chapel of the church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti has been home to Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (fig. 182).[1] While it is arguably one of the artist's greatest paintings, and certainly among the finest of those that have remained in Venice, this, Titian's first version of Lawrence's fiery demise, is not truly in situ. It was created for entirely different context: the lost church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi, purchased by the Jesuits in 1656 after the suppression of the Crociferi order, and demolished in the first decades of the eighteenth century to make way for their exuberant Baroque church. As a result of its displacement from its original location and a dearth of information about the Crociferi church, Titian's masterpiece has long been distanced from the original intentions of the artist, his patrons, and from its relationship to the church for which it was created. A new and forceful image of this painting has emerged thanks to the skillful restoration by Nicola Restauri, which has also afforded us the opportunity—with the generous support of the Banca d'Alba and Rotary International—to liberate the picture from the shadowy environs of its chapel in the Gesuiti, and to consider it in the fresh light of its original home: the church of the Crociferi.

166. Detail of the Church and Campo dei Crociferi from Jacopo de' Barbari, *Bird-Eye View of Venice*, 1500

The Crociferi in Venice: Archival Sources and Early Modern Writers

The church of the Crociferi occupied the same location for over a half millennium, on the edge of the lagoon at the north of the island, just off what is now the Fondamente Nuove (figs. 166-167). Its foundation around 1155 predated that of most of the more renowned surviving churches in Venice, such as the basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo and the basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. Throughout their history the Crociferi enjoyed the support of a long list of illustrious supporters: two doges, a Grand Chancellor, a would-be pope, a patriarch, two cardinals and numerous prominent patrician families. The church was also host to some of the oldest, largest and wealthiest *scuole piccole*; as many as seven *scuole* (excluding the short-lived presence of the *specchieri* and the *stampadori e librai*) established altars and chapels at the church, and meetinghouses in the campo.[2] As such, it considerably outnumbered other churches traditionally considered major centres for guild devotion, and contained some of the most lavishly decorated guild altars and chapels in the city. Indeed, if the Crociferi church were intact today—had its contents not been scattered and in some cases altogether lost—it would surely be counted today as a great pantheon to the masters of the Cinquecento. In 1656, the year in which the Jesuits assumed the church, it contained paintings by each of the great Renaissance triumvirate: the Titian, a Veronese, and three impressive works by Tintoretto, a distinction few churches could claim. It was further embellished with works by Cima da Conegliano, Giovanni Mansueti, Lattanzio da Rimini, Giambattista Bregno, Alessandro Vittoria, Girolamo da Campagna, and Palma il Giovane. However, despite boasting an important monastic community, a long line of illustrious supporters, and one of the more lavishly-decorated churches of the Cinquecento, the Venetian Crociferi have received little scholarly attention.

Modern commentary on the Crociferi and their Venetian church has been restricted to abbreviated histories, guidebook descriptions, and two brief nineteenth-century studies on the surviving Oratorio dei Crociferi.[3] Silvia Lunardon expanded upon these texts in her important study of the surviving Oratorio dei Crociferi, and in recent decades the work of Gian Pietro Pacini has greatly increased our knowledge of the history of the Crociferi order.[4] But in general, the destruction of the church and its replacement with the Gesuiti has resulted in considerable confusion. Little effort has been made to clarify the complex history of the space, and as a result, much scholarship has taken for granted that the Jesuits have always occupied this corner of the city, which was only the case beginning in 1657. The expression "out of sight, out of mind" applies in this case. It is the natural tendency of scholarship to focus on spaces and objects that still exist, however research on this church as has also been hindered by the extreme scarcity of archival documentation. This was already



167. Detail of the Church, Monastery and Campo dei Crociferi from Giovanni Merlo, *Bird's-Eye View of Venice*, 1660

true in the eighteenth century, when Flaminio Corner, the author of the still seminal *Ecclesiae Venetae* and *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e Torcello*, lamented an unfortunate lack of documentation for this important monastery.[5] While both the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Archivio di Stato di Venezia are home to many robust *buste* pertaining to other suppressed religious communities in Venice, no unified monastic archive survives for the Crociferi. Emmanuele Cicogna recorded "antichissimi carte" relating to the Crociferi at the Correr, now lost.[6] Only a single *busta* remained for the Crociferi when Andrea Da Mosto wrote his guide to the Archivio di Stato, and it, too, has since been lost.[7] There are fragments scattered across various fondi in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and the Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia, and minor documentary remains dating to the seventeenth century are preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.[8] These include a collection of reports compiled by each of the remaining monasteries around 1650 which outline their history and current status in varying amounts of detail, just as they were forced to defend themselves against suppression. A manuscript

preserved at the Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso is also critical to a reconstruction of Crocifero history.[9] It amounts to a compilation of these reports from the Vatican fondi, combined with a commentary on the suppression of the Crociferi and transcriptions of surviving papal bulls and brevi, collected by an anonymous Venetian Crocifero shortly after 1656.

It is appropriate to provide a history of the Crociferi in the context of this essay, not only because the order is not widely known, but also because the Venetian Crociferi themselves became hyper-aware of their past during the sixteenth century, something that has implications for the art they commissioned. There was increasing pressure from Rome to reform monastic life in the wake of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the Crociferi had much for which to atone. Rampant disobedience and internal abuses of power in the mid-Quattrocento resulted in the imposition of a "commenda" (*commendam*)—strict disciplinary measures that were still in place well into the Cinquecento. These punitive efforts seemed to stabilise the order, if only temporarily, and there is evidence that the Crociferi made quite sophisticated efforts to publicise their rebirth, and their adherence to Counter-Reformation orthodoxy in text and image. Stressing the longevity of their order, its auspicious beginnings and illustrious supporters throughout history became a major component of their campaign to assert their reformed status. A pair of late Cinquecento histories of the order written by two prominent Crociferi, Marc'Antonio Boldù (1571) and Benedetto Leoni (1598), are testament to this fact. Crocifero Luigi Contarini included a history of his order and listed the accomplishments of many of his fellow Crociferi in his *Il vago e dilettevole giardino, ove si leggono gli infelici fini de molti huomini illustri*, published in 1587. In the same year, the revised version of the Crociferi constitution was published in Venice, followed in 1591 by another work by Benedetto Leoni, the *Memoriale per la regolare osservanza della congregatione de' Crociferi*.[10] These texts not only provide us with primary documentation of the history, values and concerns of the order at the height of its revival, but they mirror in spirit and content much of the decorative work carried out during the sixteenth century. This is particularly true of the cycles depicting episodes from Crociferi history executed by Palma il Giovane in the sacristy of the church and the oratory of the hospital.

A Brief History of the Order of the Crociferi

Benedetto Leoni's published history succinctly articulates the legendary origins of his order thus:

> "Il beatissimo Cleto [Cletus, created the third pope of Rome in the year 80], come buon vicario di Cristo, tenendo molto zelo, che le peregrinationi d'huomini christiani e devote che s'incomi-

168. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Helena and Cyriacus Discover the True Cross*, c. 1620, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice (detail, see fig. 14)

> ciavano alhora a metter in uso con molta frequenza per visitare le reliquie de' Santi Martiri e particolarmente quelle de' Sacrosanti prencipi de gli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo fussero meno impedite, e havessero li fedeli di Christo dove prender recapito mentre andavano a Roma o possavano di città, fece edificare molti hospitali in luoghi e paesi diversi, ma particolarmente in detta città di Roma… dove fu poi edificata anche la chiesa…e per essecutione di quest'opera scielse uomini caritativi i quali havessero a tener cura di detti Hospitali; da che ebbe poi origine l'Ordine dè Crociferi…erano tenuti per ordine o mandato di detto pontefice a sempre portar in mano una croce in memoria della passion di nostro Signore".[11]

Depleted by the Roman persecutions, the order was revived by Cyriacus, bishop of Jerusalem, who directed St. Helena to the wood of the three crosses (later adopted by the Crociferi as their symbol), and who aided the fledgling Crociferi in establishing themselves in the Holy Land (fig. 168). Modern scholars have had good reason to question the timing of this foundation story. It arose initially out of what was surely a misinterpretation of twelfth-century documents officially recognizing the order, which characterized the group of laymen as followers of the "disciplinam Cleti". Pacini correctly characterizes Cletus as a person "stranamente trascurato dalla storiografia", who had taken on legendary proportions in oral and written accounts of the order, perhaps not surprisingly, written by Boldù and Leoni.[12] These Venetian authors were steeped in the tradition of foundation myths, and, at a time when the order's value was called into question, they would have been

keenly aware of the legitimization that accompanied the alignment of a community with important Christian events and individuals. The Crociferi were making no small claim by crediting their foundation to the third pope of Rome, only two permutations from the living Christ. This illustrious history was further embellished by the association with Cyriacus, who connected them to the finding of the True Cross, and therefore the earliest moments of the legalized Christian faith. The Crociferi celebrated Cletus and Cyriacus as their principal saints throughout their history, however the official foundation of the order is more securely dated to the last half of the twelfth century, when a papal bull of 1160 by Alexander III officially recognized the Crociferi order and underscored their important function as administers of care to the sick and poor, and assigned them the Augustinian rule.[13]

By 1187 the Crociferi had already realized a rapid expansion into many territories, not just on the Italian peninsula, but also into England, Germany, the Netherlands, and the Levant. A bull issued by Gregory IX in 1228 listed over 56 Crociferi hospitals, the bulk of which were dedicated to the Virgin who was clearly the primary focus of their devotion. By the end of the century there were over 120 Crociferi houses in Italy.[14] The church of Santa Maria del Morello at Bologna became the motherhouse under Clement IV (1265-1268), while the Venetian house assumed a role of secondary importance, not only because of its size, but because it was well positioned to oversee the order's outposts in dependent territories and the East.[15] For the better part of their existence, the Venetian Crociferi managed at least twelve dependent monastic communities: Vicenza, Verona, Conegliano, Padua, Trent, Candia, Tergesteo, Pola, Portogruaro, Desio, Burghetto and Valle Urbana.[16] The particular brand of assistance the early Crociferi offered was ideally matched to both the needs and values of the Venetian Republic, a state with a social conscience, a distaste for vagrancy, a transient population and an ideal natural environment for the spread of disease.

The Crociferi in Venice

The Crociferi, known in Venetian dialect as the Crosecchieri (or Crocichieri), arrived in Venice around 1155, preceding the official recognition of their order by Alexander III (fig. 169). Because they generally established themselves on the urban periphery, they built their community in a relatively uninhabited and "paludoso" (marshy) location on the edge of the lagoon. The 1360 chronicle of Andrea Dandolo was the first to record their arrival in Venice around 1154 and their establishment on land given to them by the Gussoni family.[17] In 1186 Urban III granted the Crociferi permission to build a church dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin.[18] This first church was consumed by fire in 1214, but its replacement seems to have survived intact until the

late fifteenth century.[19] Ongoing Crociferi association with the prominent patrician Gussoni family, which had ties to this area of the city dating to the twelfth century, is marked by records of future donations and family involvement up until the suppression of the order.[20] Their early sponsorship of the Crociferi formed a benchmark for what would become an important factor in the order's success in Venice across the centuries: the enduring support of powerful individuals and families.

Throughout their history, the Crociferi expertly—even strategically—exploited the position of lay procurator, garnering intercession from a long list of influential members of the Venetian laity. The office of lay advocate or procurator was created in the thirteenth century in most of the *contrade* of Venice.[21] Chapters of parish and monastic churches elected gentlemen to serve as advocates for their community, to oversee finances, to defend their rights in government and the various magistracies, to resolve legal issues, handle bequests and manage properties. Regulations limiting the rights of religious institutions to own property necessitated the involvement of lay representatives, who also provided a particularly critical form of assistance to cloistered communities by becoming a conduit to the outside world. Many institutions had more than one lay procurator, and it was not unusual for some lay procurators to hold this position contemporaneously at more than one church.[22] This was often a

169. Odoardo Fialetti, *Crocigeri* from *De gli habiti delle religioni con le armi, e breve descrittion loro* (Venice: Marco Sadeler, 1626)

position that was intended to endure, not only through the lifetime of the elected individual, but across generations. The role was frequently passed through families, establishing an appealing kind of continuity akin to the *ius patronatus* (right of patronage) that so many patrician castes enjoyed over various Venetian churches. The Venetian Crociferi established such a relationship with the Zen family through their connection to Doge Renier Zen (1253–1268). A document of 1254 bears

the signature of "Rainerius Geno, Dei Gratia Dux, avocator S. Mariae".[23] Zen, who had been elected doge the previous year, was a member of one of the oldest families in Venice, and lived in the campo dei Crociferi in a palazzo that was renovated by his descendants in the sixteenth century.[24] Zen's role as *procuratore laico* (lay procurator) may well have preceded his election as doge, but this position afforded him even greater capacity to exercise influence on behalf of the Crociferi, and indeed, he used his authority to furnish the church with the recently translated relics of St. Barbara in 1256.[25] The wealthy doge's final gesture of devotion to the order was the provision of a sizeable testamentary bequest that made the Crociferi hospital a bona fide institution, facilitating its existence beyond the survival of the order itself, and solidifying Zen family devotion to the church for centuries to follow.[26]

The financial security the Zen bequest (*commissarìa* Zen) provided allowed the Crociferi to reinvent themselves in two phases over the course of the Quattrocento.[27] As demand for hospitallers decreased with the waning era of the Crusades, they reduced their charitable focus toward caring for 30-40 patients at a time, and at mid-century shifted to become an *ospizio* for 12 elderly widows. Crociferi in other cities were less responsive to the social changes that altered their purpose, and a period of decadence took hold throughout the order. Such crises were experienced by many mendicant orders as a result of the complications new material wealth, rapid growth and social change brought to their way of life. Both Boldù and Leoni report on this moment of decline, of the poverty of the institution ("miserie interne"), which would ultimately lead to the ruin of the order. Because one of the more obvious signs of disobedience was the relaxation of costume, Pius II assigned a new habit to the Crociferi in 1464.[28] The wooden cross that each brother carried became silver, and the original grey habit was replaced with one of turquoise, as worn by the *padri* represented in Palma il Giovane's depiction of Doge Pasquale Cicogna's visit to the Crociferi monastery (fig. 170). A further measure for reform was taken by assigning cardinal *commendatori* to oversee the restoration of order to each of the rogue monasteries, something that in fact further increased the prestige of the Venetian monastery, which was assigned as its first *commendatore* Pietro Barbo, the future Paul II. His election as pope shortly after assuming this position precipitated the appointment of the learned Cardinal Bessarion as his successor.[29] In 1481 Cardinal Giovanni Michiel, the nephew of Pietro Barbo, assumed the role of *commendatore*.

During the final years of the fifteenth century, the Crociferi gained another important advocate in Alvise Dardani. He had distinguished himself by securing the allegiance of the citizens of Padua to the Republic during the Italian wars as *provveditore* (or governor) of Mirano in

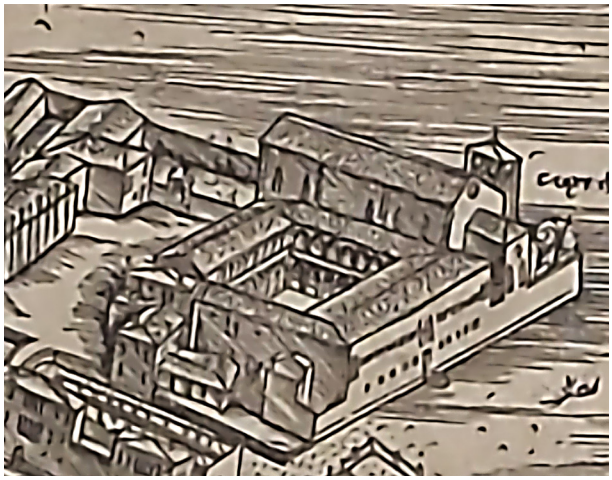
170. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Doge Pasquale Cicogna Visits the Crociferi Monastery on the Feast of the Assumption*, 1585–1588, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice (see also fig. 87)

1509—a role generally not assigned to a member of the citizen class—and was elected Grand Chancellor or head of the civil service in 1510. As such, he assumed the most prestigious position to which a *cittadino* could aspire, and was in ceremonial terms second only to the doge and the Procuratori di San Marco.[30] Like many of the private patrons who were drawn to the monastery, Dardani was an intellectual. He was friend to humanists such as Johannes Britannicus, Giorgio Merula and Gianfrancesco Boccardo, and his own treatise, a quite astonishing de-

fence of women in the *volgare*, was published posthumously in 1554.[31] Dardani was active as the Crociferi procuratore laico as early as 1472, however his association with the Crociferi dated back to his youth. In the record of the 1446 election of a prioress of the hospital, Dardani is listed as "D. Ludovicum de Dardanis procuratorem et sindicum".[32] Throughout his tenure as advocate Dardani was largely preoccupied with resolving a misappropriation of funds meant for the hospital by the Procuratori di San Marco de Citra. It was also in his capacity as protector that Dardani oversaw, and perhaps even initiated, a project to rebuild the old post-1214 church. Marin Sanudo recorded the initiation of the project around 1490:

> "In questi zorni la chiesa d'i Crosechieri comenzò a restaurarsi di novo—era vechia—mediante Alvise d'i Dardani lhoro Procu[rato]r, dove è il corpo di Santa Barbara, al qual fu fato una capella, etiam fo fabrichà di novo il dormitario".[33]

171. Detail of the Church and Campo dei Crociferi from Jacopo de' Barbari, *Bird-Eye View of Venice*, 1500



The author of the *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500* noted that sometime between April and August of 1490:

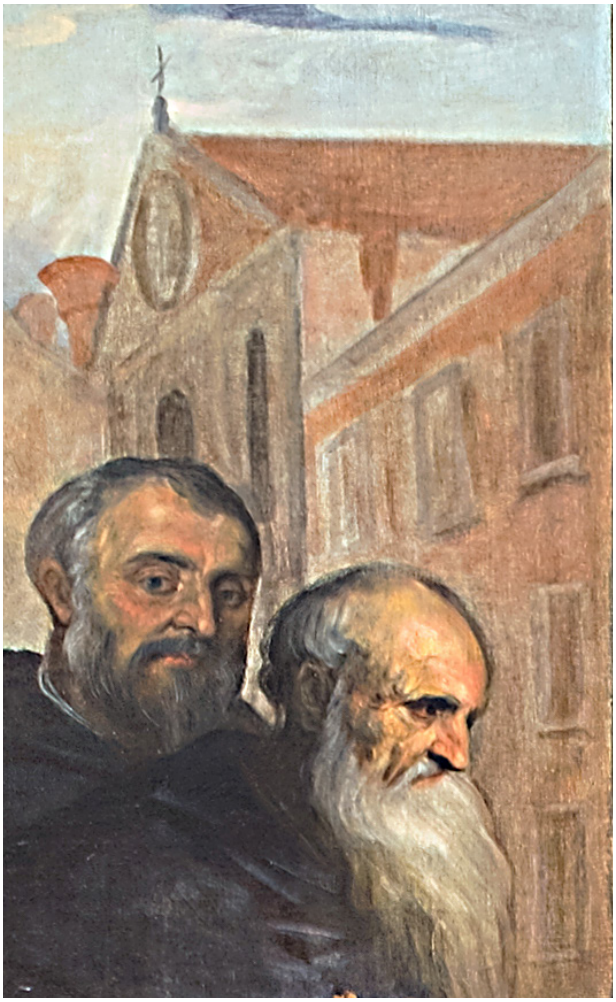
> "Marco Moresini q. Polo, ha restaurò la giesia di Crosechieri, co'l suo dormitorio; e quella de Sant'Andrea de Lido".[34]

Sabellico stated that it had been restored sometime before 1494, and elaborated in 1502:

> "il loro monastero vago et lieto pur dianzi procurando Aloisio Dardano è stato edificato, come che di questo luogo la faccia sia antica".[35]

This testimony establishes that the structure Jacopo de' Barbari captured in his woodcut *veduta* of 1500 (fig. 171) was in fact the church that had been newly restored, and that their lay protector Dardani was involved in some capacity.

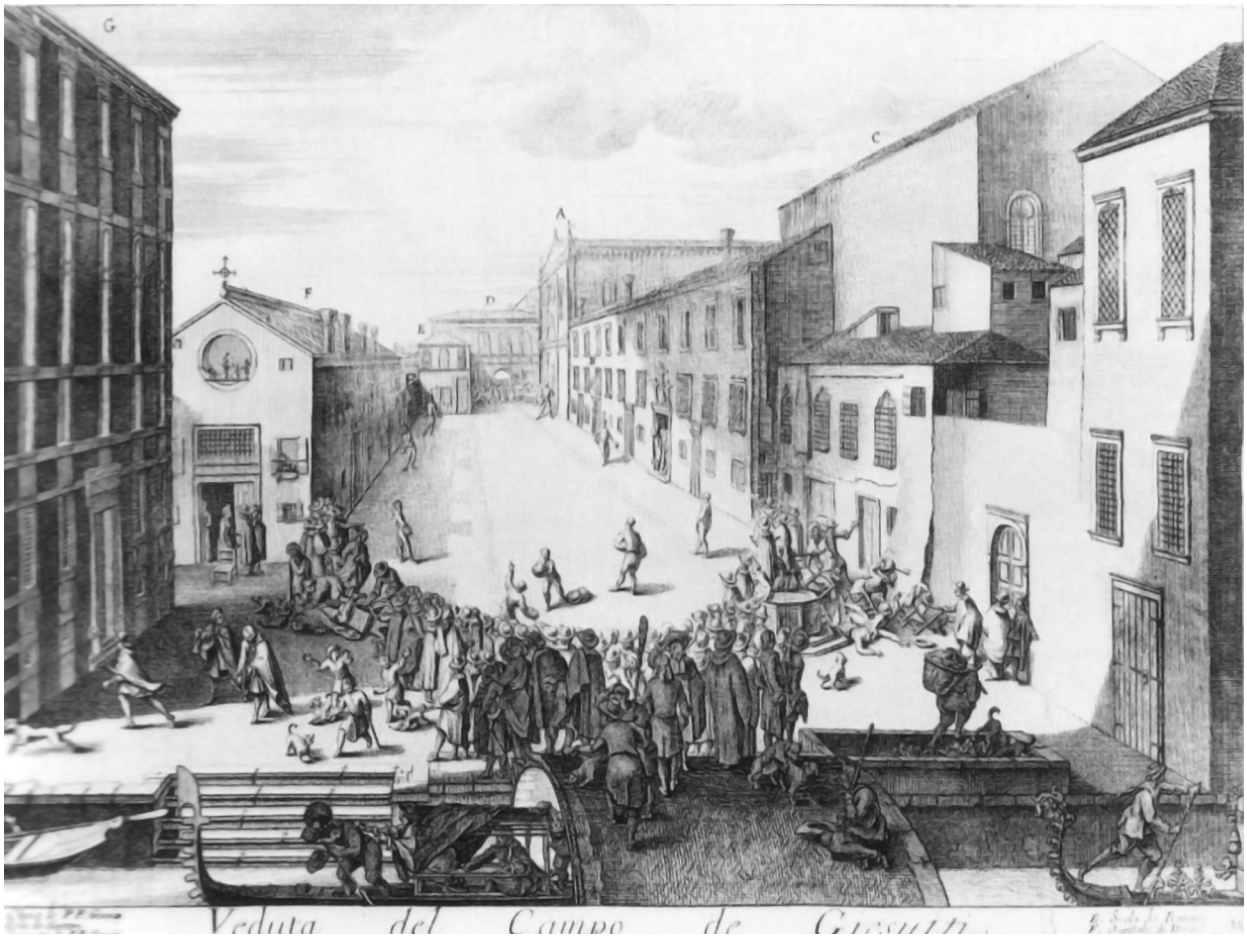
Confusion enters into the matter on a number of fronts here. The first thing requiring clarification is the mention of Marco Morosini in the *Annali*. While Marco Morosini was indeed the wealthy benefactor of the monastery of Sant'Andrea della Certosa, rebuilt about the same time, there is no traceable connection between him and the Crociferi.[36] There is no mention of any bequest or association with them in his testament, or in any of the documents concerning his *commissar-*



172. (left) Detail of the Church of the Crociferi (see fig. 19)

173. (right) Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Votive Painting of Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, (detail, fig. 186)

ia. Since Sanudo also mentions the two renovation projects in close proximity, it may be the case that the attribution of the Crociferi renovation to the benevolence of Morosini resulted from a mistake on the part of the author, or an error in the 1564 transcription from the now lost original copy of the *Annali*, which reorganised the information from chronological to thematic order.[37] Further confusion of the timeline has resulted from Francesco Sansovino's frequently repeated assertion that the church was rebuilt after a fire in 1513 "per opera di Luigi Dardano… Grande Protettore & benefattor del Convento".[38] Despite the earlier testimony of Sanudo and Sabellico, authors have universally omitted any reference to the 1490 structure, leading to an assumption that the building in the Jacopo de' Barbari *veduta* was destroyed and replaced once again after 1513. Yet later perspectival views of the church—those of Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (c.



174. Domenico Lovisa, *View of the Campo dei Gesuiti* from *Il gran teatro di Venezia* (Venice: Domenico Lovisa: 1717)

1535), Matteo Pagan (1559), and especially Giovanni Merlo (1660), as well as much later depictions of the church in paintings by Palma il Giovane (figs. 172-173), and a 1717 engraving by Domenico Lovisa (fig. 174)—all illustrate a church that is identical to the one depicted in 1500.

There was in fact a fire at the monastery in 1513, the same night as a separate blaze devastated the Rialto, as Sanudo's testimony makes clear:

> "Marti, a hore…se impiò fuogo nel monasterio di Crosechieri, processo di la cameria dil primo medico, et perchè il vento era grandissimo, in poco tempo et manco di hore 3 brusoe tutto il monasterio et alcune caxe da driedo, tamen la chiexia non ave mal, dove giaze il corpo di Santa Barbara".[39]

The *Annali Malipiero* similarly relates:

> "Ai 10 Gennajo, ad un'ora di notte, in tempo di furiosissimo vento, prima ai Crocicchieri, poi in Rialto si accese fuoco".[40]

And from the diaries of Marcantonio Michiel:

> "A di 10 Gennajo essendo entrato il fuoco per un cammino nel monastero dei Crocicchieri, bruciò tutto il monastero, eccetto la chiesa, fino ai fondamenti".[41]

These accounts indicate that only the monastery, and not the church, was destroyed in the fire. A 1562 *relazione* lamented that the fire "consumò il monasterio con tutte le sue scritture e argenti e paramenti della giesia", items used in the church, but stored in the monastery.[42] This clarifies how decoration in the chapel of the *setaioli* dating to the late 1490's by Cima da Conegliano survived. Moreover, it explains how the head of St. Barbara, preserved with the rest of her body in the church, was still intact and carried in procession days after the fire around the smoldering Rialto in an attempt to extinguish the flames with its recently tested preventative powers.[43] The confusion surrounding the rebuilding seems to have emerged from a misreading of original documents, or a failure to consult them at all. Many authors took Sansovino at his word without noticing that by 1513 Alvise Dardani had been reposing in his burial chapel inside the Crociferi church for several years, thus unable to oversee any subsequent renovation. Neff's suggestion that Dardani's role was simply related to a "substantial" amount of money he bequeathed to the Crociferi that was used for the rebuilding is not substantiated by his testament, which made no such provision.[44] The more likely scenario is that Alvise Dardani was to the Crociferi what Marco Morosini was to the Certosa, as Giorgio Emo was to Santi Giovanni e Paolo, and as Bernardo Navagero was to the parish of San Giovanni in Bragora: an influential lay protector who perhaps contributed funds in life, but certainly presided over a project of reconstruction.[45] Dardani was absolutely qualified. In 1490, in the capacity of *guardian grande*, he was contemporaneously supervising the rebuilding of the meetinghouse of the Scuola Grande di San Marco, a project initiated by Pietro Lombardo and Giovanni Buora, who were replaced by Mauro Codussi.[46] It is hard to know how the 1490 renovation of the church was made possible, if not from some sort of private contribution. Between the restrictions imposed by the ongoing *commenda* and their dire financial situation—documented by Dardani's own testimony—the Crociferi would not have been in a position to fund such a project independently.[47] Indeed, finances prohibited a speedy restoration of the cloister, which was enlarged in the classical style, but not complete until 1543, when an engraved stone was placed to mark the occasion.[48]

A comparison between the structure depicted in the various engraved and painted images of the church and other buildings that survive reveals that the Crociferi church must have been of substantial dimension. It was bigger than the church of

the Madonna dell'Orto and smaller than the basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, but only by perhaps one third. Sanudo named it as among the most "grande e bellissime" of churches of Venice, joining others that have survived to be regarded as the most splendid in the city.[49] The ample two-storey cloister extended off the right side of the façade and stretched the entire length of the sizeable campo.

Franzoi and Di Stefano asserted that despite the scale and splendour of the convent, the Crociferi did not distinguish themselves in any particular way in the social, cultural, or religious spheres.[50] On the contrary, the Venetian monastery was in fact an active centre of learning and humanistic pursuits. A 1564 *condizione*, or declaration of property, income and expenses, recorded for the census of ecclesiastical institutions carried out in 1564 by the Soprintendenti alle decime del clero provides us with a valuable "snapshot" of life at the monastery.[51] Considerable expenses are recorded for masters of grammar, Latin, Greek, theology and music who instructed the *religiosi*. In the 1580's the Crociferi renovated their ample library, which a contract states was positioned above the sacristy. Quite remarkably, the contract indicates that it was bigger than that of San Giorgio Maggiore, and furnished with handsome *banchi* of fir and cherry wood.[52] An inventory of its contents (oltre 1400 titoli) completed between 1598-1603 at the request of the Congregazione dell'Indice reveals the rich, varied, and progressive interests of the Crociferi, many of who were published theologians, poets, historians, musicians and preachers of some renown.[53] Marc'Antonio Boldù stressed all of this in the introduction to his history of the Crociferi:

> "...li padri nostri l'hanno narrato, ne si convenendo ad altri che a Dio il vero honore, et culto divino, dovremo almeno con vive voci predicarli, et con eterne memorie de scritti, alla perpetuità della fama racomandarli perche havendo noi ricevuto de loro, per le sottili inventioni di tante scienze, et arti, si liberali, come mecanice, ogni industria, sapere, et commodo, dovremo meritamente reputarli come universali benefattori degni d'immortal lode come essaminadori l'historie verissimi testimoni delle humane attioni, et specchio di veritade".[54]

Most of the Crociferi monasteries dependent on the Venetian house—including Venice, Padua, Conegliano, Bergamo and Treviso—sustained active music chapels, complete with *maestri di cappelle*, and salaried positions for the organist and instructors of singing and instruments.[55] Quaranta's comparative study of the 1564 *condizioni* revealed that the Crociferi paid their organist substantially more than any other monastery, save the church of San Pietro di Castello, then the cathedral of Venice.[56] The importance of organ music at the church may have been connected to Crocifero Giovanni Antonio Marso, organist of San Marco (1516-1552), who lived at the monastery from about 1506.

During his four decades of service at San Marco, he worked under *maestri* Pietro De Fossis, Adrian Willaert and Cipriano De Rore.[57] This is significant, as the Crociferi seem to have been amongst the early practitioners of *coro spezzato*, a form of double-choir or polyphonic music that had its roots in sixteenth-century Venice and the unique acoustic space that was the ducal chapel.[58]

A systematic examination of the diaries of Marin Sanudo reveals that the Crociferi monastery was also a major venue for itinerant preachers, and that they played host to a very different kind of spectacle: *commedie dell'arte*. Sanudo records nine visiting *predicatori* at the church between 1507 and 1532, and in fact many of the Crociferi were themselves preachers of some renown.[59] Indeed, the 1577 reconstruction of the Crociferi church of San Luca in Verona was undertaken principally with funds raised from the public preaching of Ottaviano Semitecolo, one of the Venetian Crociferi appointed to reform the constitution in 1581.[60] About 1522, Sanudo's descriptions of preaching at the church give way to descriptions of professional productions of *commedie dell'arte* performed "ai Crosecchieri". In 1522 they hosted two recitations of a comedy by Cherea (Francesco de' Nobili), and the first Venetian performance of Niccolò Machiavelli's *Mandragola*.[61] The following year Ruzzante's *Gli Orlotani* and Cardinal Bibbiena's *Calandra* were performed.[62] These productions were popular amongst the *patriziato* for good reason; many of them were erotic and used offensive language, hardly the kind of performance one might expect to find friars attending, let alone hosting. The precise venue for these productions has never been clear.[63] It has long been assumed that they were staged in the cloister, however, with the monastery badly damaged by fire in 1513 and not rebuilt until 1543, this seems unlikely to have been the case. It is more plausible that these productions took place in one of the many properties the Crociferi owned near the monastery, probably indoors, since Sanudo attended plays in the cold winter months. Theatrical performances did take place at other Venetian monasteries, in fact one production in the cloister of Santo Stefano in 1502 was the comedy *Stephanium*, written by Crocifero Antonio Marso, who may have been instrumental in establishing his monastery's involvement in such productions.[64] We can perhaps understand Crociferi involvement in the theatre as an extension of their literary interests. We know from a late sixteenth-century inventory that the monastic library contained volumes related to all categories of learning, and that individual Crociferi—many of whom held university degrees and were members of academies of learning in Venice and elsewhere—maintained extremely varied personal collections. There is also evidence that the Crociferi shared a connection with the thriving Venetian print industry. In 1555, the monastery signed a convention with the *capitolo* of the *fraterna degli stampadori e librai* that assigned the

printers space within the church to carry out their spiritual and practical business, and numeorus Crociferi *padri* were published authors.[65] In the dedication of his history of the Crociferi, Benedetto Leoni asserts that he and his fellow Crociferi made a conscious choice to depart from the tradition of writing in Latin, preferring the vernacular for accessibility, a partiality that is also reflected in the titles in their monastic library.[66] It cannot be coincidence that it was in a space owned by the Crociferi in Calle del Padiglion that Francesco Marcolini, the famous printer of *volgare* texts, established his first shop in Venice in 1536.[67]

Their rather progressive literary interests were likely to have been a key factor in the appeal the monastery had to a patrician audience, from which they drew a great deal of membership and patronage. Numerous archival sources reveal that the Crociferi monastery consistently maintained *padri* bearing the most important and ancient family names of the Libro d'oro. In many cases it can be determined that membership in the order was a sort of family affair; Crociferi who were brothers, cousins, nephews and surely many illegitimate sons can be traced across multiple generations. In the list of expenses for the church in the 1564 *condizione*, an intriguing addition is made which suggests the monastery was the chosen destination of gentlemen during Holy Week, at which time they would live amongst the brothers.[68] The ambiance the Venetian Crociferi clearly provided—with greater than average latitude and access to the sorts of pursuits to which a patrician male might be accustomed—would also have been an attractive option to those for whom a religious calling was not the driving force behind their entry into monastic life.

The restrictions of the *commenda* were still in effect in 1556, the year in which the Venetian Republic began to actively intervene on behalf of the Crociferi in an attempt to restore their autonomy. Following a report of indiscipline observed on a visit to the monastery by the Master General, a *breve* was sent which put the house under the control of the Generale and robbed the Venetian Crociferi of the unique privileges they had always enjoyed, including the right of their prior to deal independently with economic and disciplinary issues.[69] Doge Francesco Venier, via ambassador Bernardo Navagero, convinced Paul IV to lift the restrictions. Through the intervention of the Republic, Pius V finally abolished the *commenda* in 1568, deeming the Crociferi to have returned to sufficient discipline. In 1571, Boldù credited their reform to the "saggio et diligenze governo de suoi presenti Retori", and we receive a strong sense from the testimony of both Boldù and Leoni that the locus for the recovery of the order in general was in fact the Venetian monastery.[70] In 1581 the Capitolo General of the Crociferi appointed a committee to revise the constitution to account for the decrees of the Council of Trent and an ongoing need to remain vigilant against indiscipline. Master General Fran-

cesco Fossano appointed four high-ranking brothers, all of whom were Venetian, or based in Venice: Giuliano Cirno, Camillo Cremaschi, Stefano Leoni, and Ottaviano Semitecolo. This choice may reflect the fact that the Venetian monastery and its Veneto dependents flourished, while those elsewhere would continue to struggle with disobedience and depleted membership.[71] Throughout the century it was consistently the largest amongst its counterparts, filled to capacity with well over 50 Crociferi, while even the motherhouse at Bologna only maintained 24. The population of the Venetian house equalled or exceeded that of other major Venetian monasteries. In 1564 there were 59 inhabitants, comparable to San Francesco della Vigna, occupied by 60 Franciscans, or San Giobbe, home to 49.[72]

The age of revival within the Crociferi order was marked and narrated by a series of publications clearly intended to rehabilitate their damaged reputation. In 1587 the Venetian publisher Cristoforo Griffio published their revised constitution, followed in 1591 by a commemorative commentary on the constitution by Benedetto Leoni, a theologian, poet, philosopher and prolific author who was at the time serving as Master General. Leoni followed up in 1598 with a published history of the order in which he celebrates the success of the "utilissime" reforms:

> "Da indi in poi incominicio l'Ordine a guisa d'arida terra perfusa di ruggiada celeste a pullulare di nuovo and germogliare frondi, fiori and frutti di maravigliosa bonta: si riformarono i costumi, crebbe il culto di Dio, s'abbelli la disciplina, and l'osservanza claustrale, fiorirono li studi delle buon'arti and quelli specialmente della Sacra Teologia, li quali di molti anni a dietro erano quasi estinti and si continuarono per anni ventisette in circa sino a questi tempi con notabile frutto di essa Congregatione and con non mediocre servigio di Santa Chiesa con tanta felicita di acquisto and accrescimento cosi nel temporale, come nello spirituale, che fa stupire grandemente l'antichità".[73]

However, Leoni also suggested ways in which the order might move toward an even more rigorous existence. Clearly from the perspective of the highest-ranking member of the order, there was still instability, warning signs of what the next century would bring. From about 1605, serveral popes began to make efforts to reduce the number of Crociferi monasteries, suppressing those that had too few brothers to warrant their independence.[74] By the time Innocent X ordered the review of the state of Italian *religiosi* in March of 1649 the Crociferi were nearly extinct. Thirty monasteries had closed during the last decade of the sixteenth century; their houses were reduced to just 25, and over a quarter of those remaining were in Venetian territory. The pope's inquiry led to major suppressions in 1653, which further reduced Crociferi monasteries from 25 to 5: Bologna, Venice, and

their dependents in Verona, Vicenza and Bergamo. Although the motherhouse was still Bologna, it had been all but abandoned, and even the Master General lived permanently in Venice. It was no coincidence that four of the remaining five houses were under Venetian control. The Venetian monastery was still home to 53 Crociferi, while three remained at Bologna, and their income was five times the size of any of the remaining monasteries.[75] In its typical fashion, the Republic continued to defend the *conventini* under its jurisdiction, and refused to enforce the suppressions decreed by the papacy. Beyond financial concerns, this decision was based on the fact that the Venetian government viewed these monasteries as a refuge for poor nobility.[76] A stalemate of roughly two years ensued, during which the Republic was embroiled in a war against the Turks in its territory of Candia (1647-1669). It was almost certainly due to the financial strain of this conflict that the Senate instructed its ambassador in Rome to initiate a dialogue with the papacy in January of 1656 regarding the implications of conceding to the suppressions. The new pontiff, Alexander VII, was keen to banish these quasi-extinct orders, and an agreement was reached between the two parties, each having a caveat. Venice wanted to keep the profits yielded from the sale of the monastic houses to fund its war, and the papacy wanted the Republic to readmit the Jesuits, who had been banished in 1606. From January to April of 1656 the details of the suppression were negotiated with the help of the Venetian ambassador to Rome, as well as the papal nuncio Carlo Carafa. In February 1656 the orders under consideration for suppression were announced: "una delle prime può esser la Religion de Cruciferi come ripiena di persone mal nate, e ch'è fatta depositaria de gl'effetti del vizio". Carafa concurred, writing to Rome:

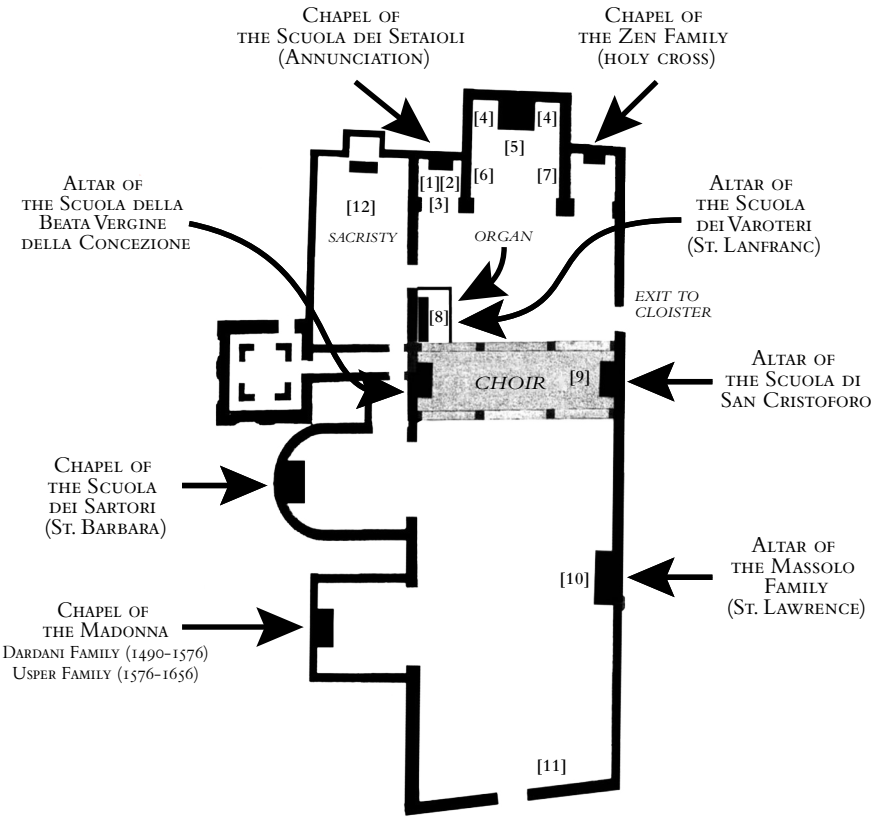
> "...si mantigono da Cinquanta Religiosi nessuno di quali si vivi coll'osservanza o disciplina regolare, ma al contrario si trova in tutti tanta relassationi, che non é quasi alcuno di questi Padri, che non habbia qualchi figlio nato di mal prattica. A questo loro modo di vivere, che causa generalm[ent]e grandissimo scandalo s'aggionge anco un' ignoranza cosi estrima".[77]

On 28 April 1656 the bull of suppression was dispatched to Venice, and the remaining Crociferi were forced to disperse. But the Crociferi complex did not remain empty for long. The pope's stipulation that the Jesuits be readmitted went to vote in the Venetian Senate in January of 1657. The request was passed after an animated debate, and when the question arose of where to put them, the ample double cloister of the Crociferi monastery seemed an ideal option. It was sold to the Jesuits for fifty thousand silver ducats, and they used the complex as it was for over five decades. But by the turn of the eighteenth century the structure was over two hundred years old and showing its

age. By some accounts it was rotting and dangerous, and it did not suit the tastes or needs of its new occupants.[78] They wanted more space for their scholastic endeavors and a church that would reflect their exuberant spirituality. A generous offer by the influential Friulian Manin family in 1710 presented them with the opportunity to make the space their own. Two decades later there was little trace of the old complex, and much of the surrounding campo had been altered to accommodate the new plan. Further alterations were made after the fall of the Republic, when the cloister was used as barracks for Napoleon's troops. So it was that the last traces of the Crociferi complex slipped away.

The Church of the Crociferi

A sense of the church can be established from a variety of visual records. Antonio Visentini and Jan Grevembroch, who contributed detailed documentation for other lost churches, arrived too late to record the church of the Crociferi, destroyed short decades before their activity. We must therefore rely on perspectival *vedute* of the city, painted and engraved representations of the campo, and a few surviving seventeenth-century groundplans. Two groundplans—one created in 1667 for a proposal on the part of the Jesuits to add two lateral chapels to the right side of the nave, and another dating to around the same time preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris—help to locate the original position of Titian's altarpiece, and provide some insight into its relationship to the surrounding decoration.[79] Guidebook descriptions bring further clarity to our the image of the space, providing important details about the appearance of its interior, the nature of its decoration, and specifics about the location, authorship and patronage of individual paintings and monuments. The year 1581 forms an important benchmark for the reconstruction, for it was in this year that Francesco Sansovino published his *Venetia, città nobilissima et singolare*, thus contributing the first written description of the church. Sansovino's comments complement the observations made by the apostolic visitors during their 1581 visit to the church.[80] Although frustratingly vague at times, their notes on the church's physical structure and decoration were clearly taken in a systematic fashion. They began in the *cappella maggiore*, then moved counter-clockwise from altar to altar, terminating in the Zen chapel of the Holy Cross (*in cornu epistolae*). When paired with Sansovino's testimony, their notes provide a clearer vision of this space at a critical moment in its genesis (fig. 175). By 1581 the first of two phases of sophisticated decoration to be executed at the church over the course of the century was complete. Carlo Ridolfi's biographies of Venetian painters, as well as later guidebooks and seventeenth-century updates to Sansovino's text narrate subsequent alterations to the church, primarily the



AD 1581

[1] Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *Annunciation* and *Sts. Mark and Peter*

[2] Paolo Veronese, *Adoration of the Shepherds*

[3] Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, Giovanni Mansueti and Lattanzio da Rimini, *Life of St. Mark Cycle*

[4] Alessandro Vittoria, *Sts. Barbara and Helena*

[5] Jacopo Tintoretto, *Assumption of the Virgin*

[6] Andrea Schiavone, *Visitation* (lost)

[7] Jacopo Tintoretto, *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*

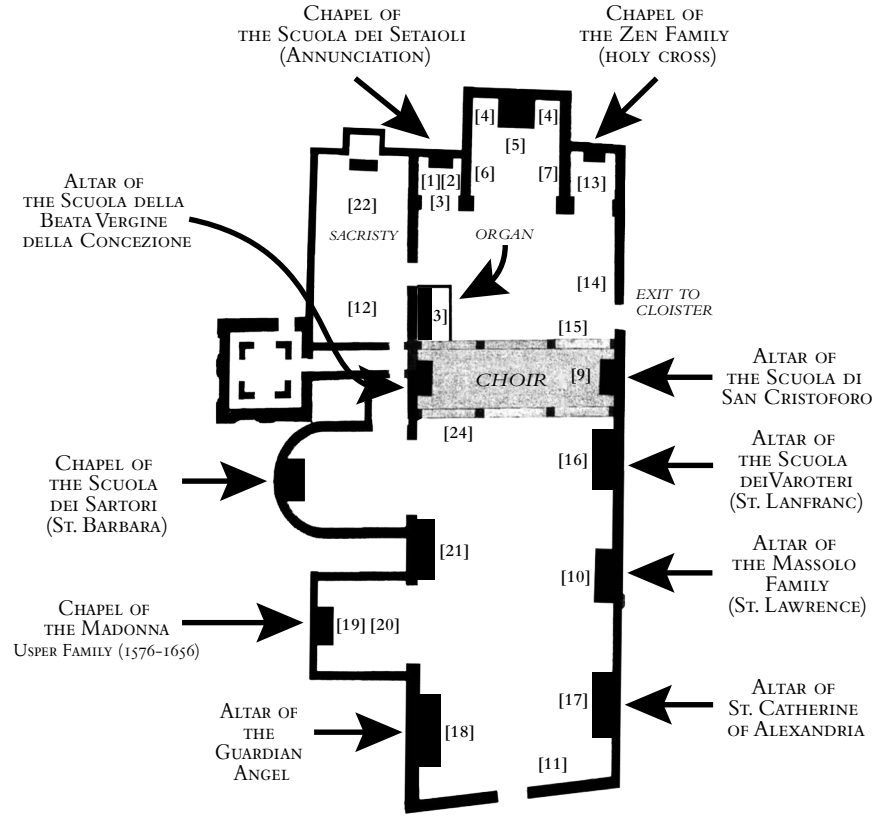
[8] Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *St. Lanfranc with Sts. John the Baptist and Liberius*

[9] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *St. Christopher*

[10] Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*

[11] Alessandro Vittoria (?), *Monument to the Da Lezze Family*

[12] Giovanni Mansueti, *Crucifix* (National Gallery, London?)



AD 1656

[13] Wooden *Pietà*

[14] Girolamo Campagna, *Cicogna Monument*

[15] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Passover with Prophets*

[16] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Decollation of St. John the Baptist*

[17] Antonio Vassilacchi Aliense, *Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria*

[18] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Guardian Angel*

[19] Andrea dell'Aquila, *Madonna*

[20] Gilded stucco vault with Evangelists in niches

[21] Matteo Ponzone, *Padre Eterno with Meeting at the Golden Gate (?)*

[22] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Narrative Cycle (Ceiling) and Altarpiece

[23] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Organ Painted Decoration

[24] Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Choir Painted Decoration

staggering amount of decoration added by Palma il Giovane during the last decades of the century. These descriptions allow for a second reconstruction of the church as it must have looked at the time of the suppression of the Crociferi in 1656 (fig. 175).

The perspectival views and ground plans indicate that the church was a barn-like structure—"a capanna"—consisting of a single large nave (lacking side aisles or clerestory) and was constructed from brick. The ample, open space of the nave would have been ideal for large audiences to gather to hear the preaching so often described in Sanudo's diaries. Extending off the left flank of the church was a Romanesque campanile that was preserved by the Jesuits, and still remains intact. The chancel extended off the body of the church, reaching toward the east and the edge of the Rio di Traghetto di Murano. The sacristy was located on the left side of the church, more or less as it is positioned in the chiesa dei Gesuiti, but was smaller and arranged differently, with the altar niche located at the liturgical east. Dorigo incorrectly stated that the church lacked side chapels, but in fact two extended off the left side of the church, an angle that is not accommodated by the perspective of the *vedute* by Jacopo de' Barbari or others that followed.[81] The first chapel, dedicated to the Annunciation, was square in plan. It also served as the burial chapel of Alvise Dardani until 1576 when it was ceded to Ludovico Usper, one of the first Avvocati del Foro.[82] No record survives of the appearance of the chapel of the Grand Chancellor prior to its renovation by Usper, who furnished it with sumptuous sculptural decoration. Stringa recorded:

> "Questa cappella e veramente di molta spesa, poiche è tutta di viva pietra con tutto l'altare fabricata. Vi è per pala in un gran nicchio la figura della Beata Vergine scolpita in marmo di Andrea Aquila Trentino. Vi sono altre sei figure in tanti nicchi, due vicine desta, quattro ambi i lati, due per lato, che sono i quattro Evangelisti. I lavori poscia, i parimenti, i corniciamenti, le colonne, il soffitto che è fatto di stucco & messo ad oro, con certe pitture, adornano non poco questa cappella".[83]

Usper's body reposed in a "bellissima sepoltura" in the middle of the chapel. The *cappella* Usper would have provided a rich complement to the marble-encrusted neighbouring chapel of St. Barbara, slightly bigger and with an apsidal end. This space contained the relics of the saint, and was under the patronage of the Scuola dei sartori. In 1581 Sansovino described the chapel as "assai ricca et honorata".[84] The apostolic visitors were more specific:

> "Altare Sancte Barbarae in Capella in qua est Corpus ipsius sanctae locatum

175. Reconstruction of the Church Interior (upper left) in 1581 and (lower left) in 1656 (Allison Sherman)

176. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *St. Lanfranc Enthroned with St. John the Baptist and St. Liberius* (*Varoteri altarpiece*), c. 1515-1516, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

decentissime in Arca marmorea fulcita columna marmorea; & duobus Angelis ex marmore".[85]

A Seicento chronicle by Matteo Palmieri painted a spectacular vision of a chapel completely "incrostata" with Parian marble, the coveted white marble favoured by the Hellenic world, known for its unique transparency. The relics of St. Barbara

were kept in a marble *cassa* with gilded copper doors, elevated by marble columns and topped with marble effigy.[86] Guild inventories of 1641, 1680 and 1707 reported a variety of paintings hung on the walls. Most of these were moved to the guild's neighbouring *albergo* after the Crociferi church was demolished, joining the painted narrative frieze depicting scenes from the life of St. Barbara recorded in the *sala terrena*, a work of the "prima puerizia del Tintoretto".[87]

There were no chapels on the right side of the church, presumably due to the placement of the adjacent cloister. Instead, altars were placed directly against the wall, including the altar founded by Lorenzo Massolo and his wife Elisabetta Querini around 1547.[88] It was positioned directly across from the Dardani/Usper chapel, roughly halfway between the entrance and the *coro pensile* that occupied the width of the church, dividing it into two unequal parts: the *ecclesia laicorum* and the *ecclesia fratrum*, terms that speak to the function of the screen as a barrier between the zones occupied by the laity and the Crociferi *padri*. The record of the apostolic visit confirms that the Massolo altar was alone on the right side of the *ecclesia laicorum* in 1581.

The Crociferi choir was one of only three described in the apostolic visit as "podium pensile".[89] It was raised, made of wood, with a wooden Christ suspended on its face, which featured an open arcade and a central passage, perhaps sizable enough to provide a view toward the high altar.[90] Visibility became increasingly important with Counter-Reformation changes to liturgy, requiring some choirs to be dismantled to accommodate the need of the populace to see what was occurring at the altar. Like the Crociferi choir, the analogous choirs belonging to the Dominicans of Santi Giovanni e Paolo and the Camaldolese monks of San Giovanni Battista della Giudecca are lost. However, the lone surviving monastic *barco* at San Michele in Isola, and the Carpaccio painting depicting the *Vision of Prior Ottobon* in interior of the lost church of Sant'Antonio di Castello (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, c. 1515), furnish us with some notion of how it might have looked.[91] The visitors to the Crociferi in 1581 made no suggestion for altering the structure of the choir, although in the 1590's it was refurbished and redecorated along with the organ, which hung between the choir and the door to the sacristy in the *ecclesia fratrum*, in convenient proximity to the singers and to the *cappella maggiore*. The altars of the Scuola della Beata Vergine della Concezione and the Scuola di San Cristoforo were located beneath the choir, to the left and right respectively.[92] In 1581 the altar of the *varoteri* or guild of the furriers was located below the organ, to the left of the door to the sacristy, and was decorated with a Cima painting of *St. Lanfranc Enthroned with St. John the Baptist and St. Liberius* (fig. 176).[93]

Cima also contributed to the lavishly ornamented chapel of the silkweavers, who had been associated with the

church since the fourteenth century, and who must have initiated the decoration of their chapel *in cornu evangeli* shortly after the new church was rebuilt in the 1490's. Boschini described the chapel's appearance in 1664, recording an altarpiece of the *Annunciation* by Cima da Conegliano (fig. 32).[94] The testimony of Stringa, Ridolfi and Martinioni was more specific, recording two further panels by Cima which flanked the altarpiece, one of *St. Mark* and another of *St. Sebastian* (fig. 125)).[95] On the left wall of the chapel hung a narrative cycle, four scenes from the life of St. Mark by Cima, Lattanzio da Rimini and Giovanni Mansueti dating to circa 1497–1499, only two of which survive (fig. 123-124).[96] The opposite lateral wall was eventually adorned—probably sometime in the 1560's—with a large *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Paolo Veronese (350 × 290 cm, fig. 177). This was a work of exceptional quality that continued to attract attention well into the next century when it was engraved by Jacob Matham (1621) and Giacomo Barri (1667) (figs. 128-129).[97]

The *cappella dei setaioli* was a veritable picture gallery, decorated in a remarkably ambitious and progressive fashion not usually associated with trade guilds.[98] The selection of an Orientalizing narrative cycle—a still burgeoning genre that was at this point more closely associated with the more sophisticated patronage of the Scuole Grandi—might even suggest the influence of an outside party. In 1492 Gentile Bellini offered to produce a cycle of scenes of the life of St. Mark for the newly rebuilt *albergo* of the Scuola Grande di San Marco, a project overseen by the Crociferi lay procurator, Alvise Dardani.[99] Although delays postponed the actual execution of the cycle, the idea would have been in the front of Dardani's mind during these same years, as the new Crociferi church was brought to completion. It is not impossible that he, or even the Crociferi *padri* suggested such a commission to the guild, eager to suitably adorn their newly refurbished church. A similar taste for innovation and quality that we do not generally associate with corporate patronage is reflected in their selection of Paolo Veronese, the favoured painter of the patriciate, to provide a lateral picture some seven decades later. By the early 1560's the Titian *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* was at last *in situ*, and the chancel and refectory were ornamented with works by Tintoretto, Schiavone and Alessandro Vittoria. The addition of a Veronese meant that the Crociferi church was decorated with works by the most celebrated artists of the time. Was it by coincidence or was this a coordinated effort?

Decoration and Patronage in the Age of Titian

The Crociferi church was redecorated in two phases throughout the Cinquecento.[100] Two important factors seem to have fueled the project: the initiative of a group of particularly proactive and astute Cro-

177. Paolo Veronese, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1560–1565, Chapel of the Rosary, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (formerly in the Setaioli chapel of the Crociferi)

ciferi priors, and the ongoing support and perhaps even artistic input of their powerful lay procurators. The Crociferi were responsible for directly commissioning parts of the decoration, but there is an indication that they may also have actively coordinated the effort in other ways: by attracting private and corporate patrons that would further embellish their shrine with innovative decoration, and by exerting considerable influence over the subject matter of works these groups or individuals commissioned. They were clearly aware of the latest trends in art, which is

not surprising given the sophistication of their other cultural and intellectual interests, and the patrician demographic at the monastery.

The renovation of the Venetian church did not occur in isolation; churches at Rome and Bologna were also rebuilt and redecorated during these same decades, as well as those at Padua and Verona. Indeed, in all four cases, the projects were overseen or initiated by Crociferi priors who were in positions of leadership at the Venetian monastery throughout the genesis of its decoration. Prior Arcangelo Cremaschi—"huomo di bellissime lettere"—who is recorded as prior at Venice at least five times between 1497 and 1534, was responsible for the rebuilding of the motherhouse at Bologna, which had been destroyed by fire during the invasion of Charles, Duke of Bourbon in 1527.[101] His central role in this project is indicated by his burial beneath the high altar in 1545. It may well have been Arcangelo who sparked the decorative renewal of the Venetian house in the years immediately after it was rebuilt. It would have been during his years as prior that the lost "crocifiso" attributed by Sansovino to Giovanni Mansueti was commissioned for the sacristy, and when there seems to have been particular emphasis on stimulating guild patronage.[102] The *setaioli* commissioned the decoration of their chapel from Cima, Mansueti and Lattanzio da Rimini, and Cima produced the *varoteri* altarpiece, which, rather unusually, included St. Liberius, a Crocifero saint to whom the guild had no connection. In 1501, Arcangelo Cremaschi further cemented the monastery's relationship with the *varoteri* by ceding them land on which to build a meetinghouse to the left of the church.[103] In 1519 Fra Girolamo Confalonieri, the vicar of the monastery, assigned an altar to the devotional confraternity dedicated to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.[104] This is the first document to mention Confalonieri, who would go on to lead the Venetian monastery throughout the late 1540's and 1550's. Confalonieri had ample experience in the patronage of art prior to his arrival in Venice, and according to the author of the Treviso manuscript, was "notissimo in ogni sorte di lettere, et oratore". He spent a period of years as prior of the monastery in Padua, and during his tenure had initiated the rebuilding of the church of Santa Maria Maddalena.[105] Portenari wrote of this lost church:

> "La fabrica antica di questo hospitale si è veduta infin'all'anno 1565, nel qual tempo Girolamo Confaloniero Bressano Crucifero Priore di detto monastero, aggiungendovi nuove fabriche lo ridusse in forma di convento, il quale anco ristorò, abbellì, e diede nuova forma alla chiesa".[106]

The project was still in progress by the time Confalonieri departed for Venice, but continued under the supervision of his nephew, Simone Rossi. Before leaving for Venice in 1548 a monument to Confalonieri's legacy was erected. It was destroyed

along with the church in the nineteenth century, however several sources recorded an impressive marble portrait bust in a shell niche, flanked by two bas-relief *putti* mounted on the lateral wall of the church, a work by Gian Girolamo Grandi (1508-1560).[107] Further testament to Confalonieri's art patronage is his involvement in the commission of an altarpiece by Marco Basaiti of the *Lamentation* (fig. 34) for a lateral chapel at the church of Santa Maria Maddalena, and a bronze portrait medal cast in his honour in 1557.[108] It is therefore not difficult to imagine that Confalonieri arrived in Venice, fresh from a period of *renovatio* in Padua, and eager to apply his expertise and initiative to the most affluent Crociferi monastery of all.

Because it was general practice within the order for priors to serve for a maximum of three years in order to prevent abuse of power, Confalonieri alternated in the position of prior at Venice throughout the 1540's and 1550's with another Crocifero, Giuliano Cirno, who had been among the four Crociferi charged with revising the constitution.[109] As Master General, Cirno oversaw the project to rebuild the church of Santa Mario in Trivio in Rome (1573–1575) to the design of the follower of Michelangelo, Giacomo del Duca.[110] This initiative was facilitated by another illustrious Venetian supporter, Cardinal Alvise Corner (1516-1584), nephew of Caterina Corner, and member of the famous Corner *della Regina* branch of the family at San Polo. As the Roman church was nearing completion in June of 1577, it was decided, again under the leadership of Cirno, that the church of San Luca di Verona should be rebuilt.[111]

The Crociferi clearly viewed these projects of architectural renewal as a tangible expression of the spirit of reform at work within the order, and in fact, the visual art they commissioned throughout the last half of the sixteenth century at the Venetian church evokes their adherence to the tenets of Catholic reform in general. They first phase of redecoration therefore began by furnishing the chancel—the central liturgical space—with a Marian program. Francesco Sansovino wrote of it in 1581:

> "Iacomo Tintoretto vi dipinse la palla dell'altar maggiore, da i cui lati Alessandro Vittoria fece di stucco, Santa Helena, & Santa Barbara. Dipinsero nella medisima cappella due quadroni, Andrea Schiavone, & il Tintoretto".[112]

At the heart of this painted and sculpted ensemble—usually dated to the mid-1550's on the basis of style and chronology—was an altarpiece depicting the *Assumption of the Virgin* (figs. 178-179), a subject that had already begun to eclipse the Virgin's coronation as the favoured subject for altarpieces in Marian churches.[113] With the Assunta as their titular, the Crociferi were ideally positioned to adhere to this particular trend towards a subject that represented the culmination of all Marian mysteries as the glorious final reward for the Virgin's virtue, purity and sacrifices, and that above all represented her exemption from death.

As the tabernacle of Christ, the Virgin was free from sin and therefore was assumed bodily into heaven, where she reigned as Queen. The notion of bodily assumption was intimately tied to Christ's Resurrection, and therefore this subject also carried Christological meaning. The Reformation's challenge to the nature and centrality of the Eucharist resulted in a proliferation of imagery that emphasized the importance of participation in the sacrament as the only means to salvation. The Virgin's active role in the redemption of mankind through her role as Christ's mother, and her participation in the Passion was also stressed. The amalgamation of Marian and Eucharistic meaning carried by the subject of the Assumption made it ideal for placement on the high altar, where the sacrament was reserved and distributed, and where the faithful would pray for the Virgin's intercession. Both Marian subjects chosen for the *laterali*—Tintoretto's *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (figs. 178, 180) and a *Visitation* by Andrea Schiavone (lost)—were frequently cited justifications for the Virgin's Assumption. The lateral paintings consequently supported the message of the central image, and engaged the spectator to consider the interrelated associations between the three paintings.

Humfrey has recognized evidence of "considerable theological expertise" in the coordination of similar decorative projects that were initiated by clergy at other monastic churches during this same period.[114] At the Franciscan church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Fra Germano da Casale, a high-ranking Franciscan, commissioned Titian's *Assumption of the Virgin* (fig. 54), its impressive *all'antica* frame, and attracted two private patrons to assume responsibility for the two altars positioned just before the choir screen in the nave. Jacopo Pesaro provided an altarpiece by Titian (1526) for the altar on the left that was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, and it has been suggested that Fra Germano then solicited another patrician, Nicolò Valier, to provide a *pala* for the altar directly opposite. Its dedication had recently been shifted from the popular Francisican saint, Bernardino of Siena, to the Purification of the Virgin, perhaps in a deliberate effort to provide the third point in a triangular spatial arrangement of Marian altarpieces. A similar coordinated effort was undertaken a few decades later at San Sebastiano under prior Bernardo Torlioni, a theologian with ties to the great religious reformers, Gian Pietro Carafa and Cardinal Reginald Pole. At various intervals between 1544–1572, Torlioni commissioned Paolo Veronese to decorate the sacristy ceiling, the organ, the chancel, the ceiling and walls of the nave of his Hieronymite church. Collectively, the decorative program communicated the triumph of the faith through a sophisticated dialogue between Marian imagery and the typologically related Old Testament story of Esther.[115] This message car-

178. Reconstruction of Tintoretto's paintings in the presbytery of the Church of the Crociferi, Venice (Allison Sherman – Carlo Corsato)

ried over into the chancel in Veronese's high altarpiece, an unusually dynamic *Madonna in Glory with saints* that also invoked associations with the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, the narrative of which was illustrated in the flanking lateral paintings, as well as in fresco along the upper flanks of the church. An effort to defend and promote core doctrines—the cult of the Virgin, the saints, and the centrality of the Eucharist—was at the heart of such a complex program. With a clearer sense of its original form, we detect a similar erudition and a related attempt at spatial and symbolic unity in the decorative program of the Crociferi church during this same period.

The caliber of the artists selected by the Crociferi, and the consistent quality of the works produced for their church, does suggest that the *padri* possessed sophisticated artistic taste. Ridolfi counted the Tintoretto *Assumption of the Virgin* (now on the altar on the left hand side of Gesuiti; fig. 179) among the artist's greatest works, sentiments that where echoed by Boschini who declared it "un esemplar del Tentoreto solo Ghe porto, sì perfeto e sì amirando" and "una delle singolari opere del mondo".[116] However, Ridolfi also records in his 1642 biography of Tintoretto, that in the first instance the Crociferi wanted an altarpiece from another rising star, Paolo Veronese:

> "Ne' Padri Crociferi, nella maggior Cappella, fece la tavola con lo ascendere di Nostra Signora al Cielo; & tutto che que' Padri havessero terminato, che Paolo Veronese facesse quella Pittura, seppe il Tintoretto tanto dire, promettendogli, che l'averebbe fatto sù lo stile medesimo di Paolo, sì che ogn'uno l'haverebbe fatta sù lo stile medesimo di Paolo, sì che ogn'uno l'haverebbe creduta di sua mano, che ne ottenne lo impiego. Ne vanamente promise, poiche in effetto fece un misto in quella tavola di fiero e di vago, che bene dimostrò, che per ogni modo sapeva dipingere, trasformandosi in ogni qual maniera fosse aggradevole".[117]

Both the *Assumption* and *Presentation* are consistent with other works produced during a period in which Tintoretto's style showed a marked response to the freshly arrived Veronese (1554–1556), and indeed, a rather heightened moment of competition is suggested by the artist's rather subversive offer to depart from his own style and appropriate that of another in order to win the commission.[118] A date for the altarpiece of around 1555 might also explain the initial desire for a Veronese on the part of the Crociferi.[119] A document from this year in the archive of the *Dieci Savi sopra le Decime* establishes that Veronese was renting a house belonging to the Zen family, just around the corner from the church.[120] He was therefore neighbour both to the Crociferi and also to his powerful Zen landlords, whose connections to the Cro-

179. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Assumption of the Virgin* (*Crociferi Assumption*), Church of the Gesuiti, Venice, c. 1553-1555

ciferi church dated back to the thirteenth century and their early protector, Renier Zen. The doge's descendants remained faithful advocates of the monastery into the sixteenth century, when Pietro Zen (son of Caterino, 1457-1539) became their lay procurator, a role he passed to both his son Caterino (1481-1556), and his grandson Nicolò (1515-1565). It was to this powerful family that the chapel *in cornu epistolae* belonged, founded sometime before 1535 by Pietro Zen.[121] A member of the family may well have recommended their tenant Veronese to the brothers, although they might just as easily have also supported Tintoretto, who had joined Andrea Schiavone around 1551 to fresco the façade of the Palazzo Zen.[122]

While the result of Tintoretto's *inganno* is not a particularly convincing attempt at Veronesismo, the Crociferi cannot have been displeased with the result, for as Ridolfi wrote, Tintoretto and Schiavone were worked "in concorenza" on lateral pictures for the Crociferi chancel, probably shortly after the completion of the altarpiece, which would have taken priority. Perhaps Tintoretto suspected the Crociferi had plans for a larger decorative program or that one commission might lead to another, when he made his initial offer to the Crociferi to secure the altarpiece commission. Veronese's recent fortune in securing a prominent commission at San Sebastiano would have been fresh in his mind, and the high finish of the *Assumption*—something Tintoretto did not always achieve—suggests his desire to impress.

Tintoretto's *Presentation* is a work of equally high quality, and one which Ridolfi felt to be among the "più pregiate dell'autore" (fig. 180).[123] It survived the demolition of the Crociferi church, but was shifted from the right lateral wall of the chancel to the sacristy in the new church of the Jesuits, and was ultimately taken to the Gallerie dell'Accademia in 1906. Its pendant by Schiavone disappeared sometime between the suppression of the Crociferi and the demolition of the church, preventing us from observing what must have been a playful dialogue between the elder master, the younger Tintoretto, and even Alessandro Vittoria.[124] Vittoria's monumental stucco saints Barbara and Helena in niches—described by Vasari in 1568 as "molto belle" and "alte sei piedi l'una"—punctuated the space between the altarpiece and the lateral walls.[125] They were clearly already present when the *laterali* were executed, as Tintoretto accounted for them in the backdrop of his *Presentation*; the rounded classical apse which formed an illusionistic extension of the actual chancel includes similar figures in niches. The lateral paintings were provided by the *scuole dei varoteri* and *botteri*; the dedications of both guilds conform to the subjects of the paintings, and they both possessed rights to the periodic use of the chancel for their devotional exercises.[126] The *botteri* were dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin, a Marian mystery analogous with the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and while the *varoteri* occupied an altar in the church dedicated to St. Lanfranc ("la

180. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, c.1555–1556

reliquia della sua testa ivi contenuto"), their corporate dedication was to the Visitation. A 1645 inventory of the possessions of the *varoteri* notes:

> "Ritrovandosi al presente nella chiesa delli crosechieri: Su il altar grande un quadro dilla nostra veneranda".[127]

A 1715 accord between the *botteri* and the Jesuits confirms their ownership of the Tintoretto *laterale*:

> "Che il Quadro della Purificatione di M[aria] V[ergine] di raggione di d[ett]a Arte che stava per avanti ad un lato della Capella Maggiore sia conservato nella d[ett]a Capella da farsi, col segnale dell'Arte stessa come in d[ett]o Quadro s'atrova".[128]

Like the *setaioli*'s selection of Veronese to provide a painting for their chapel, the decision on the part of these relatively humble corporate patrons to commission large-scale lateral paintings by first-rate artists is

181. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Wedding at Cana*, 1561, Sacristy, Basilica of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice

rather remarkable.[129] Once again, it suggests the guidance and even active coordination of the Crociferi, who were clearly seeking innovative decoration as well as stylistic and thematic unity in their chancel.

In 1561 Tintoretto signed and dated his final work for the Crociferi: a large *Wedding at Cana* for their refectory (fig. 181). This commission conformed to an increasing trend for supper pictures in Venetian monasteries, but departed from the more traditional subject of the Last Supper, anticipating Veronese's version at San Giorgio Maggiore by about a year. As a prefiguration of Christ's last meal and the consecration of the sacrament in the mass, the subject had Eucharistic associations and was commonly interpreted as central support for the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It also carried associations with Christ's mystical union with the Virgin. Several of the themes referenced in the chancel decoration therefore carry over to the refectory through the selection of this subject, reflecting both Counter-Reformation and Crociferi priorities. On the other hand, the subject also provided a justification for a more festive image than the conventional subject of the Last Sup-

per permitted, a mood of conviviality and theatricality that must have appealed to the Crociferi and their patrician supporters, many of whom, as the 1564 *condizione* recorded, made a practice of spending Holy Week living amongst the brethren. As he had in his *Presentation* for the chancel, Tintoretto created a dramatic and engaging image through his manipulation of the perspective in the painting to mirror the architectural space of the monks' dining hall. The orientation of the actual table at which the Crociferi sat would have seemed to extend into the painted space when the painting hung in the refectory. This would have provided the *padri* with the most rewarding impression that they were actually dining with Christ, who presided as *capotavola*, an effect at which Ridolfi marveled when he saw it in situ.[130] Boschini and Zanetti joined Ridolfi in praising the work as among the artist's finest, and it was so admired that it was the only painting amongst the many of substantial value possessed by the Crociferi to be retained by the state when the order was suppressed in 1656.[131] It ultimately joined other treasures displaced by contemporaneous monastic suppressions in the sacristy of the newly erected basilica of Santa Maria della Salute. There it remains to this day, alienated from its original function and physical location, making it impossible to fully appreciate the dialogue between place and space the artist so ingeniously intended to create.

It was amidst this flurry of decorative activity in the 1550's that Titian's *Martydrom of St. Lawrence* was finally installed after a decade of delays (fig. 182), an embellishment to the church that the astute Crociferi were well placed to appreciate, and one that they may well have received—albeit indirectly—thanks to yet another one of their lay procurators. I have argued at greater detail elsewhere that Lorenzo Massolo and Elisabetta Querini conceived of this altarpiece as a family peace offering to the powerful statesman Stefano Tiepolo, who had served the Crociferi as lay procurator from at least 1543 until the end of his life, and who was succeeded in this office by his son, the distinguished diplomat, Paolo Tiepolo.[132] In June 1537, just months after the the Massolo and Tiepolo families had celebrated the marriage of Lorenzo and Elisabetta's only child, Pietro, to Stefano's daughter, Chiara, tragedy struck when Pietro quite inexplicably stabbed and killed his young wife in their bedroom and fled to the monastery of San Benedetto in Polirone, near Mantua. Pietro was tried and sentenced to death in absentia, and with a bounty on his head outstanding in Venetian and non-Venetian territories, he was forced to remain in exile at the monastery. In 1538 he took monastic vows, and assumed the name Don Lorenzo. At about the same time his parents initiated what would become a decade-long campaign to mobilize their powerful friends in Venice and Rome to secure a pardon for their son. Despite the advocacy of Pietro Bembo, Gregorio Cortese, Gasparo Contarini and others, nothing had come of the family's efforts by 1546, when another influ-

ential figure entered their circle: the papal nuncio to Venice, Giovanni della Casa.[133]

The nuncio agreed to approach Stefano Tiepolo in hopes of a resolution for the Massolo family, but was understandably met with resistance. On 1 May 1546, Della Casa wrote to his friend Carlo Gualteruzzi that he had little hope of convincing the powerful statesman, for he remained "cosi acerbo come se il caso fosse occorso hieri".[134] Tiepolo had confided that the prolonged discussion had opened old wounds, prompting Della Casa to admit that without Tiepolo's support there was little hope of changing minds, as Venetians deferred to "questo nobile e ben honorato gentilhomo".[135] In May 1547, a year after Della Casa's unsuccessful mediations, Elisabetta Querini wrote a new testament, which is the first document to name the Crociferi church as the site of the Massolo "archa".[136] Her previous will of 1 May 1537, written just weeks before Chiara's murder, had expressed only a desire to be buried with her husband, son, and an already deceased daughter, but did not specify location.[137] Lorenzo Massolo's testament of 18 November 1548 provides some clarification. He wished that his body be placed in his tomb before his altar in the Crociferi church, and specified that no one else should be buried there besides himself, his wife, and the bones of their daughter, which he states could be found buried in San Giorgio Maggiore.[138]

182. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1548–1559, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

This is also the first document to mention the altarpiece, already commissioned, but destined to remain incomplete for a decade to follow:

> "La Palla del qual altare voglio del si habbia a finir et cussì el coverchio de ditta sepoltura".[139]

It may well be that Elisabetta's 1537 testament referred to some sort of burial arrangement the family had at the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, where their daughter was already interred, a burial site that was later shifted to the Crociferi church. The timing of the relocation of the family's burial location to the Crociferi church can be secured by Elisabetta's second testament to sometime before 25 May 1547, about the time that Della Casa was making his appeals to the victim's father to support the pardon. I have suggested that the selection of the Crociferi church by the Massolo couple as the site of their altar, and its embellishment with a progressive altarpiece by Titian was in fact a gesture related to the family's contemporaneous efforts to appease Stefano Tiepolo. Lorenzo's 1548 testament contains further evidence of their desire to make amends:

> "Lasso al mag° m. Stephano Thiepolo et sui Heriedi ducati vinticinq del Intrado in segno del amor et ho portato a quella pover del Chiara sua fiola et mia Carrissima nuora".[140]

Such a gesture would have appealed to Tiepolo's special investment in the Crociferi church, for he had been instrumental, along with his fellow lay procurator and another distinguished statesman, Nicolò Zen, in assisting the Crociferi in their return to stability during the years in which the order was struggling to rehabilitate its reputation and regain control over its administration. Multiple records survive that document both Zen and Tiepolo, and even Giovanni della Casa, intervening to defend the rights of the Crociferi, especially around the mid-1550's.[141] Indeed, amongst the letters written by Della Casa to his nephew, Annibale Ruccellai—an influential member of the household of Cardinal Carlo Carafa in Rome—we find a request from the former nuncio on behalf of both the Crociferi *and* Stefano Tiepolo. Della Casa wrote on 19 April 1555 that Tiepolo asked him to appeal to Annibale to press for the assistance of the powerful cardinals, Ranuccio Farnese and Giovanni Ricci di Montepulciano, in securing support for the monastery's cause, stating, "Tu sai quanto il clarissimo Messer Stefano merita apresso d'ogniuno, et quanto noi siamo obligati alla sua bontà et cortesia, et perciò in questa occasione sforzati di mostrarli gratitudine".[142]

The involvement of Tiepolo and Zen and Della Casa with the Crociferi also coincided with the moment in which the first phase of redecoration was initiated, a renovation that, as we have seen, was piloted by the Crociferi, but was almost certainly impacted by their sophisticated lay supporters. Tiepolo had a history of interest and involvement in the arts. Danese Cattaneo produced a bust of his image, while he was podestà of Padua in 1559, Tiepolo summoned Michele Sanmicheli to evaluate Danese's work at the Chapel of the Santo, and he was also responsible for commissioning Domenico Campagnola to fresco the Sala dei Nodari at the Palazzo Moroni.[143] For his part, Nicolò Zen had contributed funds to the 1553 renovation of the Crociferi oratory, and his family knew quite a lot about art.[144] Titian painted his portrait in the 1560's (Kingston Lacy, Dorset), and it has been argued that he also sat for Tintoretto (Prado, Madrid), who of course also contributed frescoes to the Zen palace.[145] It is also worthy of note that the marriage of Nicolò Zen's aunt, Barbara, to Priamo da Lezze, around 1534 had solidified a relationship between the Da Lezze family and the Crociferi church which inspired another ambitious commemorative artistic commission around 1561. Priamo and his son Giovanni—both Procuratori di San Marco—furnished the counterfaçade of the church with an extremely grand architectural funerary monument variously attributed to Sansovino or Alessandro Vittoria, that was decorated with busts of the Da Lezze by the latter (fig. 183).[146] The monument served as a marker of their deliberate effort to cluster their devotional interests with those of the powerful Zen, something the Massolo may well have been attempting to do for equally strategic reasons, but of a penitent kind. The provision of a Titian altarpiece

183. Alessandro Vittoria and Workshop (with Giulio del Moro), *Monument to Priamo, Giovanni and Andrea da Lezze*, after 1576, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

would have been recognised as a welcome coup for any church, but Tiepolo was particularly well equipped to understand the significance such an object would have for the monastery under his protection at a critical moment in its spiritual and decorative renaissance.

Any number of the individuals involved might have facilitated this artistic gesture, including the papal nuncio-turned-mediator, familiar with both the Massolo and Tiepolo families, and with Titian, to whom Della Casa was connected in a variety of ways almost from the moment of his arrival in Venice.[147] But it would be unwise to dismiss the role of Elisabetta in this narrative. It was she who mobilised her circle in the campaign for Pietro's pardon, a fact which lends further support to what has always been suspected: that she was the driving force behind the commission. She shared her own history with Titian as his sitter, and—as Bembo wrote—she had treated him generously as a patron.[148] It may even have been the ease between friends that allowed the project to drag on for more than a decade.[149] Even Lorenzo's testament hints at her control of the situation, noting that the altarpiece should be brought to completion according to certain intentions, but failing to specify them, directs the reader instead to his wife, who "sa il tutto".[150] And somehow we do not doubt it. In addition to her rare beauty and intellect, a portrait of a take-charge kind of woman who enjoyed the spotlight emerges from the pages of correspondence and poetry dedicated to her by Bembo and Della Casa. Many have argued for various cryptic references to Elisabetta's involvement in the Crociferi altarpiece, perhaps most persuasively for the significance of the veiled statue of the Roman goddess Vesta.[151] This protector of the hearth and familial virtue is an allusion especially appropriate to a woman who hailed from a family that claimed ancient Roman descent, and was named for Quirinus, the deified Romulus. It is hard to imagine that Elisabetta would have missed such a golden opportunity for commemoration, but even as an extraordinary woman, it would be anomalous to suggest that she would have expected to be overtly referenced in the altarpiece. If there is evidence of her in this image, it might better be described as decorously latent. Her mark is left by the choice of the artist, and perhaps even by elements of the work that are so remarkably novel that they could only have been geared toward a rather progressive patron.

Indeed, the Massolo couple's altarpiece formed a considerable enhancement to the innovative decoration initiated in the Crociferi chancel during these same years. The theatricality and violence of the image, the powerfully conveyed impression of the saint's victory over death, of the Christian faith over the pagan world, has been recognised as an early manifestation of the new priorities sought for the Counter-Reformation altarpiece, which at this stage still remained to be codified. It was precisely during the 1540's that Venice became more aware of the Protestant threat and a need to remain vigilant against it.

As Peter Humfrey has noted, the echoes of Counter-Reformation spirituality discernable in altarpieces like this one "may be interpreted less as the result of instructions from bishops and the clergy than a spontaneous response by artists and their lay patrons to a generally diffused mood of religious revival".[152] By the end of the century theorists were encouraging artists to exaggerate violence in scenes of martyrdom, to explore the tension between tragedy and victory, for the purposes of moral edification and heightened emotional reaction. It is no wonder that the

184. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (detail, see fig. 182)

Massolo altar decoration was praised as "... ornatum decentissime in omnibus" by the apostolic visitors in 1581, at a time when the boundaries were clearer.[153] Through connections to the most sophisticated circles of learning, and to major ecclesiastical figures—not least of which was the nuncio Giovanni della Casa—Elisabetta and Titian both had access to ideas that may well have contributed to this sort of result.[154] But against the backdrop of this family tragedy, the Massolo couple's rather unconventional choice for a dramatic scene of martyrdom—a painting about suffering and torment, but ultimately hope and redemption—takes on new significance quite apart from such influences. In this respect, there may even be something in this image of Pietro, who by the time of its commission had been living for a decade as Don Lorenzo. Although provided for in the testaments of both his parents, Pietro—who died at San Benedetto in Polirone in 1590—was disowned in the inscription on the family tomb.[155] It emphatically stated that his father was the last of his family line, a decorous omission that might be interpreted as consistent with the concept of a peace offering to Tiepolo. Perhaps for Lorenzo and Elisabetta, their exiled son found expression in their monument in a less obvious way: in the form of the writhing, tortured figure of Lawrence on his grill, reaching through the perpetual darkness towards that hopeful break in Titian's night sky (fig. 184).

In its original setting and at the time of its installation, the viewer—more accustomed to a static, passive figure leaning on a grill than a fiery nocturnal scene—would have experienced Titian's drama on a life-size scale in a way that cannot fully be appreciated by a modern viewer observing the altarpiece in its present arrangement. Because the work now hangs on the opposite side of the church, consumed by the shadow of a recessed chapel, the effect Titian intended is obscured. The spectator in the Crociferi church would have encountered the foreshortened Lawrence feet first as they moved up the nave. Because the altarpiece was applied directly to the nave wall, the viewer would have been drawn with greater ease into the composition and the darkness that engulfs the saint, broken only by the licking flames, torches, and a bolt of lightning, seen only by Lawrence and the pious witness in front of the canvas. This effect would only have been heightened by the addition of two actual torches, which Lorenzo stipulated should be placed on the altar on special occasions.[156]

Palma il Giovane and the Last Phase of Decoration

In some respect, Titan's painting sparked the second phase of decoration at the Crociferi church, which was carried out almost exclusively by Jacopo Negretti, called Palma il Giovane.[157] According to Ridolfi, that artist shared an extremely personal connection with the Crociferi that dated to his boyhood: "ai quali [Pa-

dri Crociferi] il Palma vise sempre divoto, poichè sino da fanciullo fu da quelli avuto in protezione".[158] Palma became the preferred painter of the Crociferi, and over the course of his long career converted their complex into a monument to his talent. He executed in excess of fifty individual paintings for the church, monastery and oratory, many now lost. Ridolfi elaborates that it was in the Crociferi church that the visiting Duke Guidobaldo della Rovere of Urbino discovered Palma's artistic talents when he observed the boy of fifteen sketching the recently installed *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* during mass. Palma was invited to join the household at Urbino in 1564, remained there until 1567, and then accompanied the duke to Rome, where he stayed until 1570, and in fact contributed several works to the Crociferi church of Santa Maria in Trivio.[159] Ridolfi reports that upon his return to Venice, Palma returned to the monastery, eager to demonstrate to the *padri* "le primizie del suo ingengo", and that the Crociferi were in fact among his only patrons during in the years immediately following his return. He produced several frescoes in their dormitory: a *Madonna and Child Adored by Angels* "in capo al loro dormitorio", a *Helena and Cyriacus Discover the True Cross* and a *Padre Eterno* in the stairs, all lost.[160]

Palma was in the right place at the right time to reap the benefit from several particularly fortuitous events that resulted in a series of major decorative commissions at the Crociferi church. The first was the release of the Crociferi from the *commenda* in 1568. This represented a fresh start for the brothers, releasing them from a burden to both their finances and their reputation. Further financial freedom was achieved in the early 1580's when a settlement was reached with the Procuratori de Citra, the government officials charged with overseeing the Zen legacy on which the hospital was dependent.[161] Mismanagement of the funds was uncovered as a result of investigations by Fra Priamo Balbi, who served for two decades as the "hospitalano and procurator". It was Balbi's remarkable initiative that would be the driving force behind the second phase of decoration, perhaps inspired by the example set by Confalonieri and Cirno before him.

Repartions from this settlement were made in 1583, perhaps through the intervention of Pasquale Cicogna, Procuratore di San Marco, who would become yet another powerful advocate of the Crociferi. Cicogna emerged as the dark horse in the hotly debated ducal race of 1585, which dragged on through an astonishing 53 rounds of balloting until the favored candidate, Vicenzo Morosini, passed his votes to Cicogna. News of the election surprised even Cicogna, who received the word while attending mass at the high altar of the Crociferi church (fig. 185). Divine providence had seen fit to seal what must have been an existing relationship between Cicogna and the *padri*, securing Cicogna's enduring devotion to the place where his fortunes had so dramatical-

DVM SACRA PERAGVNTVR MYSTERIA, ADOLESCENS QVIDAM IMPROVISVS NVNTIAT PASCALI CICONIA D. MARCI PROC.
EVM PATRES IN LOCVM DEMORTVI DVCIS SVBSTITVISSE: CONFIRMATVRQ. MAGNI SCRIBÆ, AC DVORVM A SECRETIS
ADVENTV SCEPTRVM FERENTIVM. XVIII. AVGVSTI. M.D.LXXXV.

186. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Votive Painting of Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, c.1595, Sala dei Pregadi, Palazzo Ducale, Venice (see also fig. 173)

ly changed. The doge's dedication found expression in a number of ways. It cannot be coincidence that during his extremely proactive dogate, substantial funds were directed to urban development in the area around the church with the building of the Fondamente Nuove in 1589, a measure taken partly to secure the monastic settlements in danger of eroding into the lagoon.[162] The Crociferi also figured prominently in the doge's personal iconography. Palma depicted the church in the background of Cicogna's votive picture in the Sala dei Pregadi of the Palazzo Ducale (fig. 186) and the Crociferi symbol of the three crosses was featured on coins struck in the doge's honour. In a grand and final gesture of devotion, Cicogna spec-

185. (left) Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Pasquale Cicogna Receives Word of his Election as Doge at the High Altar of the Crociferi Church*, c. 1585–1588, Oratorio dei Crociferi, Venice

ified in his testament that he wished to repose in eternal proximity to the place where "per gratia d'Iddio havessimo la nova dell'ellettion nostra al Ducato".[163] The resulting sculptural tomb by Girolamo Campagna (1595-1604) (fig. 187), complete with an elegant marble effigy of the doge, once hung on the right side of the church, just beyond the choir, above the door to the monastery, but was shifted to the left side above the door to the sacristy in the Chiesa dei Gesuiti.[164]

Wishing to celebrate their ties to both of their ducal protectors, the Crociferi commissioned Palma to produce an impressive cycle of paintings in their oratory that included a votive painting of Renier Zen (1584), the founder of their hospital, and a series of three paintings in honour of Cicogna. One depicts Priamo Balbi administering the host to Ciconga at the oratory mere days before his election as doge, another shows Cicogna receiving news of his election at the high altar of the church, and the third celebrates Cicogna and a ducal procession arriving at the Crociferi church on the feast of the Assumption.[165] In addition to advertising their connection to the doge, these paintings also celebrated the group of Crociferi responsible for both the spiritual and physical *renovatio* of the monastery through the inclusion of portraits of individual *padri*, rendered by Palma with tender, even sentimental precision.[166]

Balbi's next project focused on the sacristy of the church, initiated by Palma in 1589, but executed in stages, probably into the 1620's.[167] The bulk of this decoration is still in situ in the sacristy of the Chiesa dei Gesuiti, albeit in a modified form. The first phase of the project involved the installation of a gilded ceiling. Palma inserted painted panels depicting the four Evangelists, the Doctors of the Church and a series of Old Testament narratives representing the miraculous provision of bread, scenes that communicated the centrality of the sacrament and the role of the priest in its distribution. A long panel depicting the *Raising of the Bronze Serpent* for the wall brought a fitting conclusion to the ceiling cycle, serving as a reminder of Christ's invocation of this Old Testament as a prefiguration of his Crucifixion, reenacted in the mass through the elevation of the Host (fig. 115):

> "And Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up". (John 3:14)

In the context of a Eucharistic cycle, this painting demonstrated the curative reward of participation in the mass, and the risks of rejection of the sacrament. These subjects were appropriate to the context of the sacristy, and also responsive to ideas that were emphasized in Counter-Reformation doctrine. The celebration of Crociferi history that had begun in the oratory cycle eventually spilled over into the sacristy

187. Girolamo Campagna, *Tomb of Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, 1595-1604, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

decoration when the walls above the walnut benches were lined with a narrative cycle devoted to major events in the history of the order—several specific to the Venetian monastery—probably inspired by Benedetto Leoni's published history of the order (1598). As in the oratory cycle, individual Crociferi were commemorated in these paintings through the inclusion of portraits of the *padri*, cast in the role of witnesses to these historic events. The sacristy altarpiece, commemorating the principal saints to which the Crociferi were devoted (Cletus, Cyriacus, Helena and Lanfranc), has also been dated to this same period on the basis of style.[168]

The nave also underwent a substantial renovation during the 1590's, corresponding to the moment at which Cicogna made his decision to be buried at the church. According to the doge's *Cerimoniale* and the oratory painting depicting his visit, the church had been added to the itinerary of ducal processions. These circumstances may have provided an impetus for the renovation of the choir, organ, and several side altars over the course of the next decade. These commissions were also awarded to Palma, who furnished the organ loft with fresh decoration, now lost, in 1594-1595.[169] Around the same time the choir underwent a structural refurbishment, at which time Palma executed a *Road to Calvary*, a *Crucifixion and Resurrection*, a *Descent into Limbo* and a variety of sibyls and prophets in *chiaroscuro* to decorate it, all lost sometime after Boschini recorded them in 1664.[170]

The Crociferi also promoted Palma il Giovane amongst their private and corporate patrons. The *botteri* commissioned him to paint a scene of the Passover, now lost, that once hung on the side of the choir that faced the high altar. In close proximity to this work was Palma's *St. Christopher* (lost), completed for the altar of the Scuola di San Cristoforo, which was positioned beneath the choir on the right side of the church.[171] Sometime after 1617, Palma provided an altarpiece depicting the Archangel Raphael with Tobias for a new altar founded by Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo, located on the left side of the nave, between the entrance to the church and the Dardani/Usper chapel.[172] This altarpiece was probably among the last paintings to be added to the Crociferi church, joining two others that had been commissioned to decorate a pair of newly established altars, one to either side of Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. The first altar on the right side of the nave was dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria. Antonio Vassilacchi, called Aliense (1556-1629), provided an altarpiece of her martyrdom—now lost –sometime after he became active in Venice in 1584. This work was described by Aliense's pupil, Ridolfi, who claimed that his master was unable to realize the painting to his own satisfaction due to the interference of the discerning Crociferi *padri*, who insisted on the inclusion of monas-

188. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *Decollation of St. John the Baptist* (*Varoteri Altarpiece*), c. 1593-1595, Sacristy, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

tic portraits and changes to the figure of the saint.[173] Such "cryptoportraits" also figure in Palma's altarpiece of the *Decollation of St. John the Baptist* (fig. 188), commissioned by the *varoteri*, probably sometime around 1594-1595, when the choir renovations had displaced their altar from its position on the left side of the church, beneath the choir. It was moved to the opposite side of the nave, to the space between the choir and Titian's *St. Lawrence*. Ridolfi identified saints Lanfranc and Liberius—anachronistic witnesses to the Baptist's beheading—as Fra Giuliano Cirno and Fra Simon Rossi, providing further evidence of Crociferi involvement in yet another ambitious guild commission. This painting replaced their outdated Cima altarpiece of the enthroned St. Lanfranc with a gory image of the Baptist's demise. Palma emphasized the violence of John's decapitation through the dynamic *contrapposto* of the brawny executioner, and above all by the foreshortened torso of the headless Baptist. The stump of his neck extends toward the viewer along the central axis of the composition, still gushing blood, as if onto the altar below. The sacrificial message is emphasized by the gesture of Liberius, who directs our gaze to the corpse, and to the lamb beneath the foot of the executioner, calling to mind the Baptist's prophecy of Christ's sacrifice: "Ecce Agnus Dei". The crimson drapery over the shoulder of the central witness carries the eye to the upper right corner where Herod's banquet unfolds in an opening beyond, adding yet another dimension of action and meaning. The handsome saints bracketing the composition balance the drama of the martyrdom, and are set apart through their placement below the stone ledge. Palma removes them both physically and psychologically from the historical narrative as contemplative models that engage the viewer. These visceral and instructive elements combined to form what could be considered an ideal post-Tridentine altarpiece, a work that stands out as one of the finest among Palma's enormously personal contributions to the Crociferi church.

It is not difficult to imagine that when given the opportunity to provide a pendant to one of the most famous scenes of martyrdom of all, Palma returned to the spot he had occupied some thirty years before, as a fifteen-year-old boy on the verge of discovery, in search of inspiration. Nor is it impossible that Titian's image of unprecedented violence provided the Crociferi with an impetus to create an ensemble of martyrdoms on one side of their nave. A viewer entering the church would have passed the three altarpieces that lined the right side of the nave before reaching the choir screen, complete with its decoration depicting Christ's suffering and sacrifice. The post-Tridentine viewer would have understood the connection between the bodily death of these saints and that of Christ, and the relationship between the saints' sacrifice and the ultimate reward of resurrection. This was something the viewer could also achieve through participation in the sacrament

of the Eucharist in the chancel beyond, where the Marian decoration by Tintoretto and Schiavone further reinforced these associations through their narration of the Virgin's bodily assumption and the justifications for it, stressing the importance of her intercessory role in salvation.

With an image of the Crociferi church reconstructed, a sense of the erudition, sophistication and coordination of its decoration emerges. We have seen the ways in which the taste and agenda of the Crociferi impacted this result, and how the *padri* were reflected—often quite literally—in the works commissioned over the course of the sixteenth century. Insight into their astute artistic taste and the concerted effort they made to decorate their church with works by leading artists makes it all the more difficult to accept that they would ever have been willing to sell their magnificent Titian to the King of Spain in 1564, as so often been repeated. This assertion is based on a letter written by Garcia Hernández to the king's secretary Gonzalo Pérez in which he seems to state that the Crociferi altarpiece could be purchased for 200 *scudi*, or the king could pay 50 *scudi* for a copy by Titian's leading pupil:

> "En un monasterio desta ciudad está un quadro de San Lorenzo que hizo él muchos años ha, el qual es de la grandeza y manera que vuestra merced apunta en su carta, y los frailes me han dicho que le dieron por él doscientos escudos".[174]

A closer examination of the verb tense reveals that the letter has been consistently mistranslated, probably beginning with an error made by Crowe and Cavalcaselle.[175] What Hernández actually states is that the Crociferi *padri* told him that they *paid* 200 scudi for it, a figure that was obviously intended to provide Pérez with some sense of the value of an autograph version.[176] The Crociferi's attachment to the picture was substantiated by Stringa in 1604:

> "Se questi Padri havessero voluto venderla a diversi, che l'hanno richiesta ad instanza di diversi Principi, haverebbono havuto tutto ciò che chiesto havessero: fu proferto loro sino tre, e Quattro mila scudi, e non l'hanno voluto dare, come mi è stato da un Padre vecchio, che ancor vive, affermato".[177]

Indeed, Titian's masterpiece must have been the crown jewel amongst the treasures amassed in the Crociferi church over the course of the century, and so it remains in the Chiesa dei Gesuiti, a silent witness to what time has obscured.

[1] This is the unpublished original English version of Allison Sherman, "La collocazione originale del Martirio di San Lorenzo di Tiziano: la chiesa scomparsa di Chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi", in *La Notte di San Lorenzo: genesi, contesti, peripezie di un capolavoro di Tiziano*, eds. Lionello Puppi and Letizia Lonzi (Crocetta del Montello (TV), 2013), pp. 16–43. Typos, incorrect spelling and other imprecisions present in the Italian version have been here corrected.

[2] A. Sherman, *The Lost Venetian Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi: Form, Decoration, Patronage* (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2010), pp. 171–236 (chapter 5 and chapter 6 in the present volume). Scuole with altars or chapels at the church included the Scuola dei setaioli (eventually comprised of the *colonnelli* of the *veluderi*, *samiteri*, *tessitori di panni di seta* and *passamaneri*), Scuola dei sartori, Scuola dei varoteri, Scuola dei botteri, the Scuola di San Cristoforo and the Scuola della Beata Vergine della Concezione. The *botteri* and *varoteri* both had *alberghi* directly in front of the church, the *albergo dei sartori* was located the left of the church, and the *alberghi* of the setaioli, the Scuola della Beata Vergine della Concezione and the Scuola di San Cristforo were all located on the façade of the monastery, overlooking the campo. See Lovisa's view of the campo, fig. 131.

[3] G. Bellomo, *Notizie storico-pittoresche dell'oratorio de' SS. Filippo Neri e Luigi Gonzaga annesso all'Ospizio di S. Maria de'Crociferi in campo de'Gesuiti* (Venice, 1845); G. Bianchini, *La Chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta de'Gesuiti in Venezia* (Venice, 1891); A. Gallo and S. Branca Savini, *Chiesa dei Gesuiti* (Venice, 2002); G. Tassini, *Edifici di Venezia distrutti o volti ad uso diverso da quello a cui furono in origine destinati* (Venice, [1885], 1969), p. 177.

[4] S. Lunardon, *Hospitale S. Mariae cruciferorum. L'ospizio dei Crociferi a Venezia*, (Venice, 1985), *passim*; G. P. Pacini, "Fra poveri e viandanti ai margini della città: il 'nuovo' ordine ospitaliero dei Crociferi fra secolo XII e XIII", *Religiones Novae* 2 (1995), pp. 57–85; G. P. Pacini, "L'ordine ospitaliero dei Crociferi attraverso il Cod. MS. 474 della Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso. Contributo alla storia dell'ordine fino alla soppressione del 1656", *Rivista della Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 50 (1996), pp. 399–434; G. P. Pacini, "I Crociferi e le comunità ospedaliere lungo le vie dei pellegrinaggi nel Veneto medioevale secoli XII-XIV" in *I percorsi della fede e l'esperienza della carità nel Veneto medioevale,* ed. A. Rigon (Monselice, 2001), pp. 155–72. See also, Sherman (2010), *passim* (see esp. the introduction and chapter 1 in the present volume), and Ludovica Galeazzo, *Dinamiche di crescita di un margine urbano: l'insula dei Gesuiti a Venezia dalle soglie dell'età moderna alla fine della Repubblica*, (PhD dissertation, Ca' Foscari University, 2014).

[5] F. Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis…* (Venice, 1749), II, p. 176.

[6] BMC, Codice Cicogna. MMMCCCCLX, "Crociferi di Venezia. Documenti rari (XII-XV) spettanti ad Monastero

dei".

[7] A. Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia* (Roma, 1940), II, p. 139.

[8] ASP, Capitolo di San Marco, pergamene, b. 7; ASVat, Ordini Religiosi, Crociferi and CSR, b. 24.

[9] BCT, Cod. MS. 474.

[10] BMC, Cod. Cic. 3045, "Marc'Antonio Boldú, *La Historia della Religione Crocifera*, 1571"; *Constitutiones ordinis fratrum cruciferorum, nuper recognitae, & in melioremformam, ac ordinem redactae, et in Capitulo Generali Bonon. celebrato anno 1587* (Venice, 1587); B. Leoni, *Memoriale per la regolare osservanza della congregatione de'Crociferi* (Verona, 1591); B. Leoni, *L'Origine et fondatione dell'ordine de'Crociferi* (Venice, 1598).

[11] Leoni (1598), f. 11.

[12] Pacini (1996), p. 399; Pacini (2002), p. 155.

[13] Pacini (1995), p. 67.

[14] Pacini (1995), pp. 61, 67; Pacini (2000), pp. 158–160; ASVat, CSR, b. 24, f. 86r.

[15] Leoni (1598), f. 16r.

[16] *Constitutiones* (1587), ff. 44–45.

[17] A. Danduli, *Chronica per estensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello, in RIS.2, XII/1 (Bologna, 1938–1958), p. 246.

[18] ASV, PSMcitra, b. 233; E. Cicogna, *Corpus delle iscrizioni di Venezia e delle isole della laguna veneta* (Venice, 1824–53), II, p. 871.

[19] Corner (1749), p. 174; F. Corner, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia*. (Bologna, 1758), p. 302.

[20] Leoni (1598), f. 32; W. Dorigo, *Venezia romanica. La formazione della città medioevale fino all'età gotica* (Venice, 2003), II, p. 793.

[21] G. B. Gallicciolli, *Delle memorie Venete antiche, profane ed* ecclesiastiche (Venice, 1795), III, pp. 148–56; G. Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri* giorni (Venice, 1844–70), II, pp. 264ff, 680; Bruno Bertoli, "Le parrocchie veneziane dal medioevo al sec. XX. Un profilo storico-istituzionale", in F. Cavazzana Romanelli and I. Ruol (eds), *Archivi e chiesa locale: studi e contributi: atti del Corso di archivistica ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1993), pp. 124–59; A. Sherman, "'Soli Deo honor et gloria'? Cittadino Lay Procurator Patronage and the Art of Identity Formation in Renaissance Venice" in *Architecture, Art and Identity in Venice and its Territories, 1450-1750*, eds. E. Jones and N. Avcioglu (London, forthcoming 2013), *passim*.

[22] For example, Paolo Tiepolo di Stefano was elected procurator at the Crociferi church (1577) and at Santi Giovanni e Paolo (1578). Francesco Cesena was procurator at San Giovanni in Bragora (1445/54–1459) and Sant'Antonio (1467). See: BMC, Ms. PD. c. 2190/I (9), "Procure Cassella Diverse per Ca' Sagredo"; ASP, Parrocchia S. Giovanni in Bragora, Fabbriceria di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Chiesa succursale di Sant'Antonio, Atti Generale, b. 145, processi 103–104.

[23] ASV, CRS, Santa Caterina, b. 21; Corner (1749), pp. 174–5.

[24] E. Concina, "Fra Oriente e Occidente: gli Zen, un palazzo e il mito di Trebisonda" in "*Renovatio Urbis"; Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)*, ed. M. Tafuri (Rome, 1984), pp. 265–90.

[25] G. P. Pacini, "Le reliquie di santa Barbara, di San Giovanni evangelista di Torcello e

di santa Barbara della chiesa dei Crociferi di Venezia" in *Floretissima proles ecclesiae: miscellanea hagiographica, historica et liturgica*, ed. D. Gobi (Trent, 1996), pp. 445–63.

[26] G. Luzzatto, "Il Patrimonio privato di un doge del secolo XIII" *Ateneo Veneto* 17 (1924), pp. 29–58; Lunardon, pp. 29–31.

[27] Lunardon, pp. 32–41; M. Frank, *Donne Attempate: Women of a Certain Age in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Art* (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2006), p. 243.

[28] Leoni (1598), pp. 19–21; O. Fialetti, *Habiti delle religioni con le armi e breve descrittioni loro* (Venice, 1626), II, p. 60.

[29] Boldù (1571), f. 29^{r}; Leoni (1598), f. 22^{r}; M. Palmieri, *Historia della translatione del glorioso corpo della Beata Vergine e Martire Santa Barbara di Nicomedia* (Padua, 1643), p. 22; Corner (1749), II, p. 176; Corner (1758), p. 304.

[30] P. De Peppo, "Memorie di veneti cittadini: Alvise Dardani, Cancellier Grande", *Studi Veneziani* 8 (1984), p. 420; Lunardon, pp. 155–56.

[31] A. Dardani, *La bella e dotta difesa delle donne* (Venice, 1554).

[32] De Peppo, p. 420; Lunardon, pp. 155–56.

[33] M. Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Padua, 1989), II, p. 630.

[34] D. Malipiero, "Annali veneti", *Archivio Storico Italiano* 7 (1844), p. 685.

[35] M. A. Sabellico, *De situ urbis venetae* (Venice, 1494), II, p. 13; M. A. Sabellico, *Del sito di venezia città* (1502), ed. G. Meneghetti (Venice, 1957), p. 22.

[36] Sanudo, *Le vite*, II, pp. 630–31.

[37] C. Neerfeld, *Historia per forma di diaria: la cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il quattro e il Cinquecento* (Venice, 2006), pp. 69, 83.

[38] F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice, 1581), f. 60^{v}.

[39] M. Sanudo, *I diarii*, ed. R. Fulin et al. (Venice, 1879-1903), XVII, pp. 458–62.

[40] Malipiero, p. 1100.

[41] BMC, Codice Cicogna 2848, M. Michiel, *Diarii*.

[42] ASV, PSMcitra, Commissarie, b. 234–235, fasc. 9.

[43] Sanudo, *I diarii*, XVII, pp. 458–62.

[44] Sanudo, *I diarii*, XII, p. 67. Relates the circumstances of Dardano's funeral (18 marzo 1511) and his burial "*in la chiesia de li crosechieri, in la soa archa et capella fata far per lui*". Neff and De Peppo assume that the date of the fire must have been incorrect. M. Neff, *Chancellery secretaries in Venetian politics and society: 1480–1533* (Los Angeles, 1985), pp. 173–250 and De Peppo (1984), pp. 418–19.

[45] P. Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia* (Venice, 1893), II, p. 222, L. Puppi, "Il tempio e gli Eroi" in *La grande vetrata di Santi Giovanni e Paolo* (Venice, 1982), pp. 21–35. As procurator Emo oversaw the 1510 transformation of the basilica and was also involved in a decision to finance parts of the rebuild of San Salvatore. On Navagero: P. Humfrey, "Cima da Conegliano, Sebastiano Mariani, and Alvise Vivarini at the East End of S. Giovanni in Bragora in Venice", *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980), p. 350.

[46] P. Sohm, *The Scuola Grande di San Marco, 1437-1550: the architecture of a Venetian lay confraternity* (New York, 1982), pp. 11–12,

113–16.

[47] ASV, PSMcitra, Commissarie, b. 230–1, Quaderno VI. Dardani testifies in 1493 that the *commenda* cost the monastery in excess of 600 ducats a year, making it difficult for them to maintain the hospital.

[48] Lunardon, p. 40. "Coenobium hoc igne et vetustate consumptum in augustiorem hanc formam Crucigeri a fundamentis erexerunt A. MDXLIII".

[49] M. Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae (1493-1530)*, ed. A. Caracciolo Aricò (Milan, 1980), p. 49.

[50] U. Franzoni and D. Di Stefano, *Le Chiese di Venezia* (Venice, 1976), p. 150.

[51] ASV, SDC, b. 33, n. 173.

[52] ASV, PSMcitra, Commissarie, b. 234–5, filz. 8.

[53] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 11296, f. 145r–155v; *Codices Vaticani Latini: codices 11266—11326. Inventari delle biblioteche religiose italiane alla fine del Cinquecento*, eds. M. Lebreton and A. Fiorani (Rome, 1985), pp. 198–203; Sherman (2010), pp. 42–7 (chapter 3, pp. 56-58 in the present volume), and the Biografie dei Crociferi illustri, pp. 261-6 (App.V).

[54] Boldù (1571), f. 1r.

[55] AST, Coporazioni religiose soppresse, San Martino e Rosa, b. 11, ff. 18v, 53r and ASV, SDC, b. 33, n. 173; D. Bryant and E. Quaranta, "Come si consuma (e perché si produce) la musica sacra da chiesa?" in *Architecture, Musical Composition and Performance*, ed. D. Howard (2006), p. 269.

[56] E. Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco. Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998), p. 33.

[57] G. D'Alessi, "Precursors of Adrian Willaert in the Practice of "Coro Spezzato", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5 (1952), p. 187.

[58] *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, eds. B. J. Blackburn, E. Lowinsky, C. Miller (Oxford, 1991), pp. 709–11, 789; Sherman (2010), pp. 42–45 (chapter 3, pp. 56-57 in the present volume).

[59] Sanudo, *I diarii*, VII, pp. 40, 339; XXV, p. 353; XXIX, p. 534; XXXII, p. 439; XXXIII, pp. 529–30; XLI, p. 113. In 1502 Marc'Antonio Sabellico, the noted orator and historian, delivered an oration on the occasion of the feast of the Assumption. See: R. Chavasse, "Latin Lay Piety and Vernacular Lay Piety in Word and Image", *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996), p. 322. According to Luigi Contarini, the noted preacher Luigi Dragan "Grifalconi", who delivered sermons for Leo X and the French king, Francis I, preached at the Crociferi church. See: Contarini (1587), f. 448.

[60] ASVat, CSR, b. 24, f. 72r.

[61] Sanudo, *I diarii*, XXXII, p. 445, 458, 466; Sherman (2010), pp. 45–7, 267 (chapter 3, pp. 57-58 and App. VI in the present volume).

[62] *Ibid.*, XXXII, p. 487; XXXIII, pp. 564, 581, 592.

[63] P. Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia nella vita privata* (Bergamo, 1928), II, pp. 394–414; G. Padoan, *L'avventura della commedia rinascimentale* (Vallardi, 1996), p. 93; R. Ferguson, *The theatre of Angelo Beolco (Ruzante)* (Ravenna, 2000), pp. 166–7.

[64] N. Pirrotta, "'Commedia dell'Arte' and Opera", *The Musical Quarterly*, 41(1955), pp. 305–24. Sanudo recorded performances at San Cancian, San Stefano, San Salvador and Santa Maria e Donato.

[65] Sherman (2010), pp. 198–200 (chapter 5, pp. 234-235 in the present volume).

[66] Leoni (1598), f. 1r-v; Barzazi, 1995, p. 187.

[67] In 1536 Adrian Willaert's *Cantus liber quinque Missarum Adrian Willaert* was published "in Vinegia per Francesco Marcolini da Forlì ne le case de i Frati Crosechieri".

[68] ASV, SDC, b. 33, f. 173. "Per spese si fano la settimana s[an]ta In chiesa, et per molti gentil'huomini, che si retirano qui a viver con li p[ad]ri' nelli giorni santi neliqual giorni per la lungeza di offij, é necessario far magior spesa in viver del'ordinario".

[69] *I Libri Commemoriali della Republica di Venezia. Regesti*. (Venice, 1903), VI, n. 42, p. 285 (July 15, 1556).

[70] Boldù (1571), f. 29.

[71] *Constitutiones* (1587), f. 5v; Leoni (1591), 1r–5v.

[72] Leoni (1591), f. 5r; ASV, SDC, b. 33, f. 173.

[73] Leoni (1598), f. 23.

[74] Pacini (1996), p. 408.

[75] Corner (1758), p. 305; Cappelletti, p. 396; Pacini (1996), p. 404, n. 15.

[76] For a complete discussion of the circumstances surrounding the suppression, see: Sherman (2010), pp. 24–28 (chapter 1, pp. 29-32 in the present volume).

[77] BNM, Mss. Cod. It. XI, 42 (=6961), *Dispacci di Mons. Carafa nunzio apostolico in Venetia toscani il ritorno de P.P Gesuiti, 1656-7*, f. 159.

[78] M. Zanardi, "I 'domicilia' o centri operativi della Compagnia di Gesù nello Stato veneto" in *I Gesuiti e Venezia: momenti e problem di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Ges*ù (Padua, 1994), p. 125.

[79] ASV, Procuratori di San Marco, b. 13, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Hd-4d, 72. For an overlay of Crociferi and Gesuiti groundplans by Stefano Bortolussi and Antonio Mazzeri, see: *I Gesuiti a Venezia*, p. 824.

[80] ASVat, VA, 96, ff. 70r–74r.

[81] W. Dorigo, *Venezia origini: fondamenti, ipotesti, metodi* (Milan, 1983), p. 630.

[82] Sanudo, *I diarii*, XII, p. 67; T. Weigel, "Begräbniszeremoniell und Grabmäler venezianischer Grosskanzler des 16. Jahrhunderts" in *Praemium Virtutis* (Münster, 2002), pp. 147–73; Sherman (2010), pp. 201–206 (chapter 6, pp. 246-252 in the present volume).

[83] F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, ed. G. Stringa (Venice, 1604), p. 148; *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, ed. G. Martinioni (Venice, 1663), p. 169.

[84] Sansovino (1581), f. 60v.

[85] ASVat, VA, 96, ff. 71v–72r.

[86] Palmieri (1642), p. 10.

[87] ASV, Arti, b. 505; C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* (1648), ed. D. von Hadeln (Rome, 1965), II, p. 7; M. Boschini, *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (1664), ed., Anna Pallucchini (Venice, 1966), p. 425; Zanetti (1771), p. 130.

[88] ASVat, VA, 96, f. 72r. The apostolic visit confirms the altar of San Lorenzo "sed est sine capella".

[89] *Ibid.*, f. 72v; P. Modesti, "I cori nelle chiese

veneziane e la visita apostolica del 1581. Il 'barco' di Santa Maria della Carità", *Arte veneta* 59 (2002), pp. 39, 64.

[90] ASVat, VA, 96, f. 72r. "Altare conceptionis B. Maria consecratum et ornatum in omnibus situm sub choro" and "Altare S. Christophori situm sub podio, quod incervit pro choro".

[91] M. Merotto Ghedini, "Il tramezzo nella chiesa dei santi Giovanni e Paolo a Venezia" in *De Lapidibus Sententiae*, eds. T. Franco and G. Valenzano (Padua, 2002), pp. 257–8. On the San Michele *barco*, see: D. Howard and L. Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice. Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven, 2009), pp. 50–55.

[92] ASV, Scuole piccole e suffragi, Beata Vergine della Concezione, b. 214; D. Martinelli, *Il ritratto di Venezia* (Venice, 1684), p. 222.

[93] ASVat, VA, 96, f. 72r. "Altare S. Allafranchi Archiepiscopi cantavariensis consecratum situm sub organo; in reliquis decenter ornatum". Peter Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 90–1, cat. 30; L. Menegazzi, *Cima da Conegliano* (Treviso, 1981), pp. 52, 131. Robertson assigned it a date of post 1514, based on the suspicion that it replaced a previous altarpiece lost in the fire that we now know only destroyed the monastery. Humfrey and Menegazzi dated it to 1515-16 on stylistic grounds, given its proximity to the Brera St. Peter Enthroned of 1516 (Humfrey, 1983, p. 119, cat. 80).

[94] Boschini (1664), pp. 421–2; Humfrey (1983), pp. 106–108, cat. 59.

[95] Stringa (1604), p. 147; Humfrey (1983), pp. 159–60, cat. 156.

[96] Ridolfi (1648), I, p. 59; Martinioni (1663), p. 169; J. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A history of painting in North Italy* (London, 1871), I, p. 241; R. Burckhardt, *Cima da Conegliano* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 31; Humfrey (1983), pp. 82–4, cat. 14 and 113–14, cat. 71; P. Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 286–7; *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797*, ed. S. Carboni (New Haven, 2007), pp. 304–5, cats. 27 and 28.

[97] Sansovino (1581), f. 61r; Stringa (1604), p. 147; Ridolfi (1648), I, p. 306; Martinelli (1684), p. 258; A. M. Zanetti, *Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture della città di Venezia* (Venice, 1733), p. 384; A. M. *Della pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche de' veneziani maestri* (Venice, 1771), pp. 183–4; D. Von Hadeln, *Paolo Veronese* (Florence, 1911), p. 200; R. Marini in *L'opera completa del Veronese* (Milan, 1968), n. 117; T. Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese* (Venice, 1976), I, p. 131, cat. 417; S. Sponza, "L'Adorazione dei pastori già nella chiesa dei Crociferi, ora dei Gesuiti" in *Per una monografia sulla basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo* (Venice, 1996), pp. 130–132.

[98] Sherman (2010), pp. 173–181 (chapter 5, pp. 211-221 in the present volume).

[99] P. Humfrey, "The Bellinesque Life of St. Mark Cycle for the Scuola Grande di San Marco", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48 (1985), pp. 225–42; Fortini Brown, 291-5.

[100] Sherman (2010), pp. 42–170 (chapter 3 and chapter 4 in the present volume).

[101] ASVat, CSR, b. 24, f. 19r; BCT, Mss. 474,

ff. 613r, 631v; ASV, Arti, Varoteri, b. 719; Archivio Storico del Patiarcato di Venezia, Capitolo di San Marco, b. 7.

[102] Sansovino (1581), f. 60v.

[103] ASV, Arti, b. 719, n. 30 III, f. 3r.

[104] BMC, Mariegola 58, 1r-v; Archivio di Stato di Veneiza, Provveditori di Comun, Reg. O, ff. 309r–311v (27 January 1519).

[105] BCT, Mss. 474, ff. 419r, 619v.

[106] B. Scardeone, *De Anitquatate Urbis Patavii & claris civibus Patavinis* (Basel, 1560), Libro 3, f. 91; A. Portenari, *Della felicità di Padova*, (Padua, 1623), Libro 9, Cap. XXXII, pp. 464–5; G. Toffanin, *Cento chiese Padovane* (Padua, 1985), pp. 76–7.

[107] G. Salomonio, *Urbis Patavinae Inscriptiones sacrae, et prophane a magistro Jacobo Salomonio ord. praed.* (1649) (Padua, 1701), p. 185; G. Rossetti, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture ed architetture di Padova*, (Padua, 1780), pp. 256–8; P. Brandolese, *Pitture, sculture, architetture ed altri cose notabili di Padova*, (Padua, 1795), p. 197–8; F. Cessi, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi scultori* (Trent, 1967), II, pp. 384–5.

[108] Brandolese (1795), p. 197; M. Scierbasciova, "La 'Pieta' di Marco Basaiti nell'Ermitage" *Arte Veneta* 15 (1961), pp. 228–9. On the medal: P. Voltolina, *La storia di Venezia attraverso le medaglie* (Venice, 1998), pp. 526–7.

[109] Sherman (2010), pp. 54–9 (chapter 3, pp. 63-67 in the present volume).

[110] S. Benedetti, *Giacomo del Duca e l'architettura del Cinquecento* (Rome, 1972), pp. 155–71; W. Barcham, *Grand in design: the life and career of Federico Cornaro* (Venice, 2001), pp. 47–8.

[111] ASVat, CSR, b. 24, f. 72r.

[112] Sansovino (1581), f. 60r-v.

[113] P. Humfrey, "Altarpieces and altar dedications in Counter-Reformation Venice and the Veneto", *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996), p. 379.

[114] P. Humfrey, "Co-Ordinated Altarpieces in Renaissance Venice: The Progress of an Ideal" in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, eds. P. Humfrey and M. Kemp (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 190–212; P. Humfrey, "The Pre-history of Titian's *Assunta*" in *Titian 500: Studies in the History of Art* 45, ed. J. Manca (Hanover, 1993), pp. 236–7.

[115] P. Humfrey, "Veronese's High Altarpiece for San Sebastiano" in *Venice Reconsidered*, eds. J. Martin and D. Romano (Baltimore, 2000), pp. 365–8; A. Gentili and M. Di Monte, *Veronese nella chiesa di San Sebastiano* (Venice, 2005), *passim*.

[116] Boschini (1664), p. 362. Clarification regarding the shifting of the altarpiece to a side altar is provided by a 1715 accord between the *botteri* and the Jesuits which altered the guild's existing rights for occasional use of the chancel. It states that there would not be space for the "Palla Grande di M.a Vergine Assunta Titolare d'essa Chiesa" on the new high altar, which was being renovated at the expense of the Manin family, nor would it conform to the new dedication to the sacrament. The *Assumption* would be transported to an "altare decoroso" to the right of the church. BMC, Mariegola 116, f. 139v.

[117] Ridolfi (1648), II, 38.

[118] R. Pallucchini and P. Rossi, *Tintoretto. Le opere sacre e profane* (Milan, 1982), I, p. 169, cat. 170.

[119] Sherman (2010), pp. 59–96; A. Sherman, "*Ad ogni maniera*: Tintoretto Imitates Veronese?" in *Inganno—The Art of Deception*, eds. S. Gregory and S. Hickson (London, 2012), pp. 61–81. Weddigen has suggested that Tintoretto's *Assumption*, now in Bamberg Cathedral, is a rejected first version of the Crociferi *pala*. See: E. Weddigen, E. "Zur Ikonographie der Bamberger *Assunta* von Jacopo Tintoretto" in *Die Bamberger "Himmelfahrt Marie" von Jacopo Tintoretto*, ed. M. von Petzet (Munich, 1988), pp. 61–112.

[120] ASV, SDR, b. 120, n. 1848, f. 1r.

[121] ASV, NT, b. 1213, n. 888; F. Lucchetta, "L'Affare Zen in Levante nel primo Cinquecento", *Studi Veneziani* 10 (1968), pp. 109–220. On the Zen as lay procurators: Sherman (2010), pp. 77–9 (chapter 3, pp. 86-87 in the present volume).

[122] Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 15; M. Boschini *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (1660) (Venice, 1965), p. 312.

[123] Sansovino (1581), f. 60r; V. Borghini, *Il riposo* (Florence, 1584), f. 553; Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 38; Boschini (1664), p. 422 and (1674), p. 11; Zanetti (1771), p. 145. See also: Pallucchini and Rossi, 1982, pp. 167–9, cat. 168; R. Krischel, "Ein unbekanntes und einige wenig beachtete Gemälde des Jacopo Tintoretto", *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 53 (1992), pp. 45–82; M. Matile, "*Quadri laterali*, ovvero conseguenze di una collocazione ingrata: sui dipinti di storie sacre nell'opere di Jacopo Tintoretto", *Venezia Cinquecento* 6 (1996), pp. 185–88; F. Ilchman, "The Presentation of Christ in the Temple" in *Tintoretto*, ed. M. Falomir (Madrid, 2007), pp. 294–6, cat. 30.

[124] F. Richardson, *Andrea Schiavone*, (Oxford, 1980), pp. 183–4.

[125] G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetturi* (1568), ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1878–1885), VII, p. 519.

[126] G. Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi: Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Vicenza, 2004), p. 533. Both guilds had a tradition of solemnly processing to the altar each year on their respective feast days, where the *padri* were obligated to sing mass.

[127] ASV, Arti, b. 719, n. 11.

[128] BMC, Mariegola 116, ff, 139r-v. In this same year the *varoteri* voted to spend 30 ducats to "restaurare il quadro della scuola che è sull'altare maggiore...di gran valsente". The symbol of the barrel positioned on the steps of the Tintoretto Presentation (possibly a later addition), and engraved in the pavement still embedded around the high altar of the Jesuit church is further evidence of the guild's role in the commission.

[129] P. Humfrey and R. Mackenney, "The Venetian Trade Guilds as Patrons of Art in the Renaissance", *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986), p. 318.

[130] Ridolfi (1648), II, pp. 38–9.

[131] Boschini (1660), pp. 468–70; Boschini (1664), p. 351; Boschini (1674), p. 28; Zanetti (1771), p. 146. It was engraved by Odoardo Fialetti in 1612 and Giovanni

Volpato in 1722. *Jacopo Tintoretto e i suoi incisori* (exh. cat, Palazzo Ducale, Venice, 1994), pp. 76, 94.

[132] A. Sherman, "Murder and Martyrdom: Titian's Gesuiti *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* as a Family Peace Offering", *Artibus et Historiae*, 68, 2013, pp. 39-54. This article is also published in the present volume, see Add. II

[133] R. Gallo, "Per il 'San Lorenzo Martire' di Tiziano", *Rivista di Venezia* 14, no. 4 (1935), pp. 155–74.

[134] On the correspondence relating to this incident, see: Giovanni della Casa, *Opere di Monsignor Giovanni della Casa*, eds. G. B. Casotti and M. Forcellini (Venice, 1752), pp. 174–77; Giovanni della Casa, *Lettere di Monsig. Giovanni della Casa, arcivescovo di Benevento a Carlo Gualteruzzi da Fano*, ed. Luigi Maria Rezzi (Imola, 1824), p. 25; O. Moroni, *Carlo Gualteruzzi e i corrispondenti* (Rome, 1984), p. 191.

[135] Della Casa (1752), p. 177.

[136] ASV, NT (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1207, n. 270, f. 1r.

[137] ASV, NT (Girolamo Canal), b. 190, n. 244, f. 1r.

[138] ASV, NT (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1210, n. 683, f. 1r.

[139] *Ibid*.

[140] *Ibid*., f. 1v.

[141] ASP, Capitolo di San Marco, Pergamene, b. 7, n. 62 (9 December 1544); N. Faldon, *La chiesa di San Martino di Conegliano*, 1979, p. 12. Another document indicates that among his first acts of business upon his arrival in Venice in 1544 was to appeal to his friend Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for a reduction in taxes in favour of the Venetian Crociferi, and in 1545 he intervened to save the ospizio of the Crociferi monastery of San Martino di Conegliano, a dependent of the Venetian house.

[142] M. Mari, "Le Lettere di Giovanni della Casa ad Annibale Rucellai" in *Per Giovanni della Casa*, eds. G. Barbarisi and C. Berra (Bologna, 1997), p. 409.

[143] T. Temanza, Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani (1778), ed. L. Grassi (Milan, 1966), p. 182; L. Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli architetto: opera complete* (Rome, 1986), p. 129; *Dopo Mantegna: arte a Padova e nel territorio nei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. C. Bellinati (Milan, 1979), p. 83, cat. 50.

[144] Lunardon, pp. 157–8.

[145] O. Pinessi, "Tintoretto e gli Zen. 'El caballero de la cadena de oro': Nicolò Zen", *Arte Documento* 23 (2007), pp. 104–21; O. Pinessi, *Nicolò Zen tra Tiziano e Tintoretto: storia di un riconoscimento* (Treviolo, 2011).

[146] B. Boucher, *The sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven, 1991), p. 370; M. Dario, "Il monumento funebre ai procuratori Priamo, Giovanni e Andrea da Lezze, nella chiesa dei Gesuiti a Venezia. Nuove considerazioni per un'attribuzione a Jacopo Sansovino", *Arte Veneta* 66 (1994), pp. 62–9; M. Dario, "Autoglorificazione patrizia e architettura: il caso della famiglia Da Lezze alla Misericordia", *Studi Veneziani* 30 (1995), pp. 167–209; L. Finocchi Ghersi, *Alessandro Vittoria* (Udine, 1998), p. 155. Giovanni's testaments narrate a progression of the commission from a general desire to be buried in the church in 1550, to an idea for a monu-

ment in a 1561 codicil, to a work in progress in 1576.

[147] M. Mazzeschi Porretti, *Il Monsignore. Vita e opere di Giovanni Della Casa* (Rome, 1990), pp. 87–89; R. Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese, Giovanni della Casa and Titian's Danae in Naples", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991), pp. 159–171; A. Sambo, "Tiziano davanti ai giudici ecclesiastici" in *Tiziano e Venezia* (Vicenza, 1980), pp. 383–93. According to a letter of 30 September 1544 from Della Casa to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Titian was one of the first to visit the nuncio upon his arrival in Venice. Della Casa had written to the cardinal ten days before regarding the Titian portrait of Paul III and the benefice of the abbey of San Pietro in Colle that the painter hoped to secure for his son, Pomponio. He was also involved in the correspondence regarding the Naples *Danae*, passing along Titian's suggestion to give the goddess the features of Farnese's mistress, and declaring the nude in the cardinal's picture "a Theatine" nun in comparison to Titian's *Venus of Urbino*. In 1545 Della Casa served as delegate judge at Titian's trial over a dispute with the Canons of Santo Spirito in Isola, and two years later he acted as an intermediary between Titian and the Farnese court to secure the artist the role of Keeper of the Seal to the Papacy following the death of Sebastiano del Piombo. He owned a Titian portrait of Elisabetta Querini that may well have been commissioned by the lady herself in exchange for his verses, and a now-lost portrait of himself. Upon his departure for Rome in 1550 he gave two paintings to Girolamo Querini, one of which was probably a Titian. On Titian's lost portrait of Della Casa, see: C. Terribile, "Quale volto per monsignor Della Casa?" in *Giovanni della Casa*, ed. A. Quondam (Rome, 2006), pp. 79–130.

[148] Ridolfi, I, pp. 176, 198; P. Bembo, *Lettere (1537-1546)*, ed. Ernesto Travi (Bologna, 1993), IV, pp. 477; C. Whistler, "Uncovering beauty: Titian's *Triumph of Love* in the Vendramin collection", *Renaissance Studies* 26 (2012), p. 235. It has been speculated that she may have commissioned the portrait of herself as a gift to Bembo in return for one that he gave to her.

[149] BMC, Ms. Cicogna 3423, n. 17, 8 March 1557, f. 1r. "Voglio et ordino che se l'archa et Pala di Crosechieri non serà finita, la facci finir con quella più prestezza serà possibile et cosi si data ogni debita execution di tempo in tempo à quanto è stà ordinato per il g. m. Lorenzo mio marido".

[150] ASV, NT (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1210, n. 683, c. 1v. "La palla del qual altar voglio del si habbia a finir et cossi et coverchio del ditta sepultura et salizato li va atorno secondo la mia intentioni come mio moier sa il tutto".

[151] R. W. Gaston, "Vesta and the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974), pp. 358–62; Sandro Sponza in *Titian Prince of Painters*, ed. F. Valcancover (Venice, 1990), pp. 309–11

[152] P. Humfrey, *The Age of Titian: Venetian Re-*

naissance Art from Scottish Collections (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 26–27.

[153] ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72r.

[154] M. Mazzeschi Porretti, *Il Monsignore. Vita e opere di Giovanni Della Casa* (Rome, 1990), pp. 87–89; R. Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese, Giovanni della Casa and Titian's Danae in Naples", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991), pp. 159–171; A. Sambo, "Tiziano davanti ai giudici ecclesiastici" in *Tiziano e Venezia* (Vicenza, 1980), pp. 383–93. According to a letter of 30 September 1544 from Della Casa to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Titian was one of the first to visit the nuncio upon his arrival in Venice. Della Casa had written to the cardinal ten days before regarding the Titian portrait of Paul III and a benefice the painter hoped to secure for his son, Pomponio Vecellio. He was also involved in the correspondence regarding the Naples *Danae*, passing along Titian's suggestion to give the goddess the features of Farnese's mistress, and declaring the nude in the cardinal's picture "a Theatine" nun in comparison to Titian's *Venus of Urbino*. In 1545 Della Casa served as delegate judge at Titian's trial over a dispute with the Canons of Santo Spirito in Isola, and two years later he acted as an intermediary between Titian and the Farnese court to secure the artist the role of Keeper of the Seals to the Papacy (*Piombatore*), following the death of Sebastiano del Piombo. He owned a Titian portrait of Elisabetta Querini that may well have been commissioned by the lady herself in exchange for his verses, and a now-lost portrait of himself. Upon his departure for Rome in 1550 he gave two paintings to Girolamo Querini, one of which was probably a Titian. On Titian's lost portrait of Della Casa, see: C. Terribile, "Quale volto per monsignor Della Casa?" in *Giovanni della Casa*, ed. A. Quondam (Rome, 2006), pp. 79–130.

[155] Sansovino (1581), f. 61r.

[156] ASV, NT, b. 1210, n. 683, f. 2r.

[157] Sherman (2010), pp. 128–170 (chapter 4 in the present volume).

[158] Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 203; D. Rosand, "Palma il Giovane as Draughtsman: The Early Career and Related Observations", *Master Drawings*, 8 (1970), pp. 148–61, 210–33. A contemplative self-portrait of the aging artist in the guise of a Crocifero (Bardisian Collection, Venice, c. 1606) hints at his enduring devotion to the Crociferi, perhaps in gratitude for their faithful patronage, or for the charity the Crociferi of Naples bestowed upon Palma's son, a wandering misfit who died under their care. See: S. Mason Rinaldi, *Palma il Giovane: L'opera completa* (Milan, 1984), cat. 565, Ridolfi (1648), II, 203.

[159] Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 173.

[160] Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 174.

[161] M. Di Monte, "Vincenzo Morosini, Palma il Giovane e il ritratto di gruppo veneziano", *Venezia Cinquecento* 7, n. 13 (1997), pp. 159–74.

[162] M. Tafuri, *Venice in the Renaissance*, trans. J. Levine (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 184–5.

[163] ASV, NT (Secco), b. 1192, n. 527, f. 8v.

[164] Stringa (1604), p. 148; G. Gronau, *Documenti artistici Urbinati* (Florence, 1935), p.

244; W. Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna* (Münich, 1972), pp. 267–8, n. 20; J. Simane, *Grabmonumente der Dogen: Venezianische Sepulkralkunst im Cinquecento* (Sigmaringen, 1993).

[165] S. Mason Rinaldi, "Jacopo Palma il Giovane all'ospedaletto dei Crociferi: una nuova cronologia", *Arte veneta* 31 (1977), pp. 240–250; S. Mason Rinaldi, "L'Oratorio dell'Ospedaletto dei Crociferi restaurato", *Arte veneta* 38 (1984), pp. 292–294, Mason Rinaldi (1984), p. 139, cats. 523, 523A–H; S. Mason Rinaldi, "Jacopo Palma il Giovane e la decorazione dell'oratorio dei Crociferi" in Lunardon (1984), pp. 87–123,

[166] R. Zava Boccazzi, "Inserti ritrattistici in alcune tele di Palma il Giovane", *Pantheon* 23 (1965), pp. 297–8.

[167] Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 182; Mason Rinaldi (1984), p. 126, cats. 412–422.

[168] Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 182; Mason Rinaldi (1984), p. 127, cat. 433.

[169] ASV, PSMcitra, Commissarie, b. 234–5, ff. 27–29, 131–134. For remarks on the organ decoration: Stringa (1604), p. 148; Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 182; Martinioni (1663), p. 168; Boschini (1664), pp. 419–24.

[170] ASV, PSMcitra, Commissarie, b. 234–5, ff. 28–63; Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 182; Boschini (1664), p. 426.

[171] Ridolfi, 1648, II, 174.

[172] Martinioni (1663), p. 169; Martinelli (1684), p. 222; Mason Rinaldi (1984), p. 127, cat. 436; Sherman (2010), pp. 231–236 (chapter 6, pp. 273-277 in the present volume).

[173] Ridolfi (1648), II, p. 216. It had been moved by 1684 to make way for a painting of St. Francis Xavier by Liberi, and was hanging with Palma's *Decollation of St. John the Baptist*. Martinelli (1684), p. 223.

[174] M. Mancini, *Tiziano e le corti d'Asburgo nei doumenti archivi spagnoli* (Venice, 1998), p. 322, n. 202 (9 October 1564).

[175] J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *The Life and Times of Titian* (London, 1877), II, p. 343.

[176] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1877, II, 343. The original is transcribed in M. Mancini, *Tiziano e le corti d'Asburgo nei doumenti archivi spagnoli* (Venice, 1998), 322, n. 202 (9 October 1564).

[177] Stringa (1604), p. 147.

2

Murder and Martyrdom: Titian's Gesuiti St. Lawrence as a Family Peace Offering

A major restoration project in 2011 afforded a rare opportunity for Titian's nocturne, the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (fig. 200), to emerge from the darkness of the side chapel it has occupied in the church of the Gesuiti since the eighteenth century. This, the first of Titian's two versions of St. Lawrence's fiery demise, belonged originally to an altar—not a chapel—on the right side of the nave of the church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi, a structure that was purchased and later demolished by the Jesuits after the suppression of the order of the Crociferi in 1656. The cleaning has revealed, among other things, a head that was previously indiscernible, positioned to the left of the saint and above the figure of the tormentor who bends down to stoke the flames beneath Lawrence's gridiron (fig. 189). This turbaned figure with a white beard appears to kneel before the martyr, his gaze indicating a measure of sympathy that is otherwise absent in the scene of torture. Indeed, the similarity of this head to known portraits of the artist has prompted Lionello Puppi to speculate that Titian may have inserted his visage into the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, perhaps out of reverence for the remarkable woman who was instrumental in its commission.[1] Titian's patrons, Lorenzo Massolo and Elisabetta Querini, are also at the heart of this study, which seeks to provide something that has never been entirely clear: their motivations for the selection

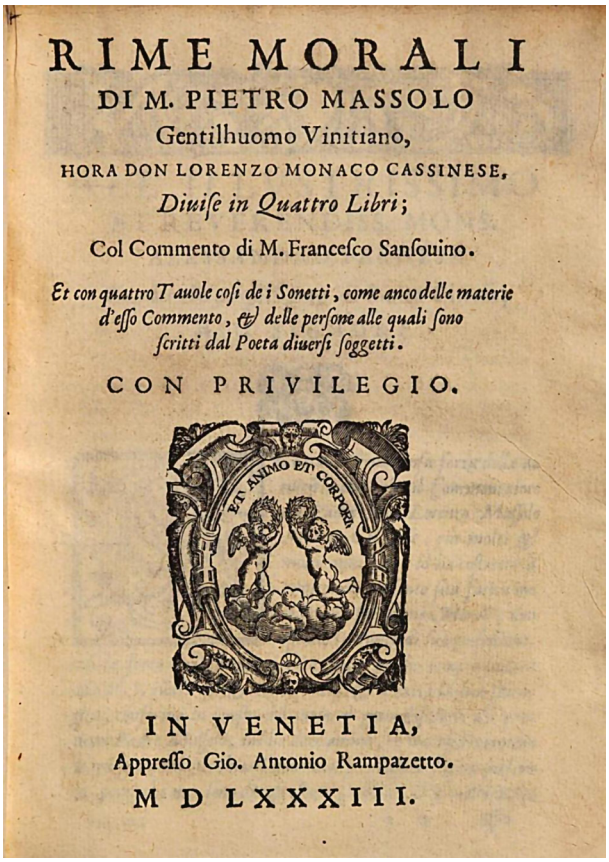
189. Possible Self-Potrait of Titian (detail, see fig. 200)

of the altar in the Crociferi church and the rather unconventional choice for a dramatic scene of martyrdom to decorate it. The answer to these questions involves a brutal murder, a renegade monk, penitential parents and an intricate web of relationships and alliances between powerful patricians and *literati* that when unraveled, deepens our understanding of the violence of Titian's masterpiece.

The identity of Titian's patron has never been a mystery. The name Lorenzo Massolo was recorded from the altar's inscription, perhaps most reliably in the 1581 guidebook of Francesco Sansovino, whose lifelong friendship with Lorenzo's only son, Pietro, was tenderly outlined in Sansovino's extensive commentary on the third edition of Massolo's collection of *Sonetti morali* in 1583 (fig. 190):

> LAURENTIO MASSVLO VIRO PATRITII ORDINIS OPTIMO IN CVIVS OBITV TOTA ET NOBILIS MASSVLORVM FAMILIA FINEM HABVIT ISABETTA QUIRINA VXOR PIENTISS. M. P. OBIIT ANNO SALVTIS MDLVI. MENSE IAN.[2]

Yet it has been the fate of Lorenzo Massolo—a member of an ancient Venetian patrician family—to remain in the shadow of his wife, Elisabetta Querini (fig. 191), whose exceptional beauty, grace, piety and intellect inspired the poetry of Pietro Bembo and of the papal nuncio to Venice, Giovanni Della Casa (figs. 192–193).[3] Titian and his shop produced no fewer than three portraits of the lady—two of them owned by Bembo and Della


RIME MORALI
DI M. PIETRO MASSOLO
Gentilhuomo Vinitiano,
HORA DON LORENZO MONACO CASSINESE,
Diuise in Quattro Libri;
Col Commento di M. Francesco Sansouino.
Et con quattro Tauole cosi de i Sonetti, come anco delle materie d'esso Commento, & delle persone alle quali sono scritti dal Poeta diuersi soggetti.
CON PRIVILEGIO.

IN VENETIA,
Appresso Gio. Antonio Rampazetto.
M D LXXXIII.

190. Don Lorenzo (Pietro Massolo), *Sonetti morali*, (Venice: Giovanni Antonio Rampazzetto, 1583), Frontispice, 3rd edition

Casa—however these survive only in the form of what may be copies and possibly an eighteenth-century engraving.[4] One of these lost paintings moved Pietro Aretino to produce a sonnet that lauded "the golden, the beautiful, the sacred countenance of la Massola" and Titian's success in having revealed her illustrious mind, regal quality, noble thoughts, and irresistible spirit.[5] While a considerable amount is known about Elisabetta as a result of the literary works and correspondence of her learned admirers, it is unusual that a lacuna of information has until recently existed for her husband.[6] Monique

191. Danese Cattaneo, *Portrait Medal of Elisabetta Querini Massolo* (obverse) and *The Three Grace* (reverse), c. 1545-1455, Samuel H. Kress Collection, The National Gallery of Art, Washington

O'Connell's study of the governance of Venice's maritime empire has provided new insight into the character of Lorenzo Massolo, who, it transpires, was a wealthy landowner in Western Crete.[7] In 1523 a dispute on Massolo's property just outside of Canea sparked a violent peasant revolt that grew to such proportions that the captain of the Venetian fleet was required to quell it. The same year Massolo petitioned the Council of Ten for permission to sell his holdings on the island, fearing for his life in the face of such widespread hatred. A letter of support was sent by the Councillor of Canea, which placed blame for the peasants' discontent on the tyrannical treatment they had received from Lorenzo's father, also called Pietro, and maintained that the best way to quell the uprising was to allow Massolo to leave, which he seems clearly to have done.[8] This Councillor of Canea, importantly for our purposes, was Girolamo Querini, son of Ismerio—Elisabetta's first cousin once removed—a key but previously obscured player in this narrative to whom we shall return.[9]

By the time Lorenzo left Canea, he and Elisabetta Querini had been married for approximately ten years and had welcomed a son, Pietro, in 1518. Beyond this, little is known of their activities until 1537, when Elisabetta caught the attention of Pietro Bembo. Recently bereaved of his companion, Morosina, and several years shy of his elevation to cardinal, Bembo corresponded frequently with Elisabetta and other members of her family throughout the final decade of his life.[10] He devoted six sonnets to the woman he claimed could have toppled Laura in the affections of Petrarch, a beauty born of the Adriadic who could have deposed Venus in the Judgement of Paris.[11] But it is clear from Bembo's letters that he prized Elisabetta for qualities beyond the physical; they shared an interest in art and antiquities, he praised her "fertile and rare genius" and often looked to her for consolation and advice.[12] Indeed, it is to one of Elisabetta's suggestions that we owe the vernacular translation of Bembo's history of Venice. He wrote on several occasions

that it was she who had alerted him to the wider audience his work would reach and warned him against sloppy translators. These were things of which he was undoubtedly aware, but he graciously and rather remarkably deferred to Elisabetta in his correspondence, and the edition of the history published by Gualtiero Scotto after his death was dedicated to her.[13]

During the first flush of her correspondence with Bembo in the spring of 1537, as Elisabetta reveled in the attention for which she seems to have had an almost insatiable craving, arrangements were also being made for the politically advantageous marriage of the Massolos' son, Pietro—not quite 18—to Chiara Tiepolo, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Stefano Tiepolo. Tiepolo was at this point governor of Corfu, but was at the beginning of a distinguished career in service to the Republic, later going on to serve as Capitano Generale to the Levant in 1542 and 1551, Ambassador to Constantinople in 1543, Inquisitore generale (Terraferma) in 1548, Podestà di Padova in 1550, and Procuratore di San Marco in 1553.[14] Pietro and Chiara celebrated their marriage on 9 April 1537 at the church of San Giuseppe di Castello with what we can presume was considerable patrician pomp, given that the bride was accompanied by a not insignificant dowry of four thousand ducats, the highest allowable sum according to a law passed by the Senate two years previously.[15] Something, however, went terribly wrong, and that intermingling of Tiepolo and Querini bloodlines that had proven so toxic in the infamous conspiracy of 1310 turned tragic once more when Pietro murdered his wife in the bedroom, violently stabbing her in the face, eyes and chest, less than two months after their wedding.[16]

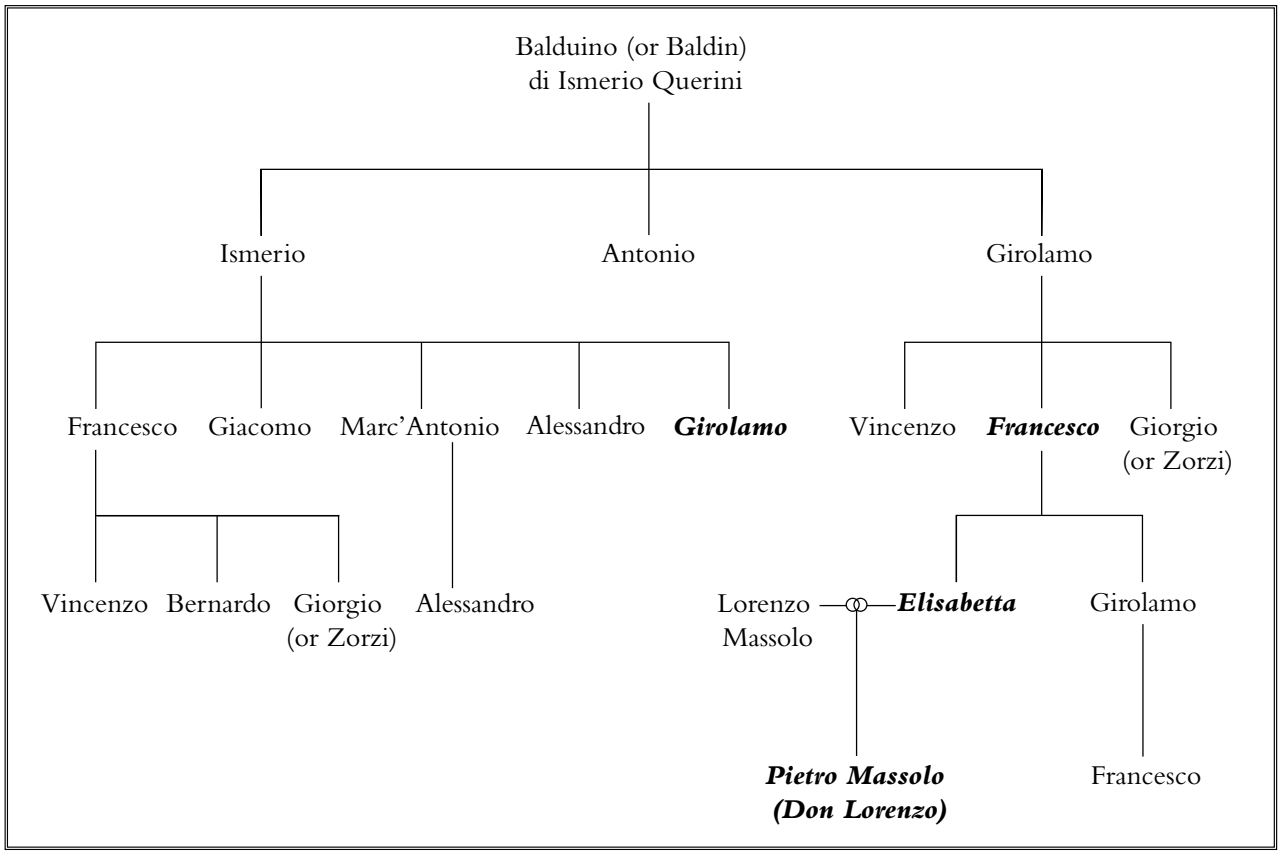
192. Titian, *Cardinal Pietro Bembo*, 1539-1540, Samuel H. Kress Collection, The National Gallery of Art, Washington

What provoked Pietro to commit the crime remained unclear; however, he had sufficient presence of mind to flee Venice immediately, taking religious asylum at the monastery of San Benedetto in Polirone near Mantua. A letter of 6 July 1537 from the Abbot of the monastery, Gregorio Cortese, to Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, recorded the arrival of the young Venetian at their doorstep sometime around 17 June, appealing to

193. Jacopo Pontormo, *Monsignor Giovanni della Casa*, probably 1541-1544, Samuel H. Kress Collection, The National Gallery of Art, Washington

be admitted into their order. Having welcomed him on the basis of his desire to serve God, as well as his ornate dress and sufficient learning, the abbot had come to learn that, although repentant, Pietro had killed his wife out of "disdain and suspicion".[17] Meanwhile, back in Venice, Pietro was tried in absentia and sentenced to death on 18 July 1537. Pompeo Molmenti published the surviving sentence as a curiosity in the 1920s, noting correctly that the proceedings of the trial conducted by the Quarantia Criminale were lost.[18] A *sentenza di bando* containing some information about the murder does survive in the book of the *Raspe*, where the findings of the proceedings of the Quarantia—the body often charged with handling high-profile homicide cases—were sometimes noted.[19] The authorities characterised the crime as "diabolical, wicked, deliberate, and with no legitimate cause". A previously unknown piece of evidence exists in the records of the Council of Ten for 28 June 1537, three weeks before the final sentence was announced, in which the council expresses its disgust at the crime, adding that a bounty would be placed upon Pietro's head, viable in Venetian and non-Venetian territories.[20] This document also states that Chiara was pregnant at the time of her death, a detail the council moved unanimously to strike from the record several weeks later.[21] Presumably gossip was promoting her condition as a possible motive for Pietro's violent outburst, scandalous implications that would have displeased Chiara's mourning family.

But let us now turn to how all of this relates to Titian's painting: the aftermath of the murder and the elusive pardon the Massolo couple would spend much of the next decade seeking for their son, who, after a year in exile, in June of 1538, took his monastic vows and assumed the name of Don Lorenzo.[22] This quest for clemency was carried out largely through the intercession of their hugely influential circle of friends.[23] The major participants in this scheme were Pietro Bembo, and the papal nuncio to Venice, Giovanni della Casa, another literary flirt who became Elisabetta's second admirer. Each



194. Querini Family Tree (Allsion Sherman)

of these individuals had connections, not only to each other, but also to Titian, and to Girolamo Querini, a figure of central import to this narrative, and one whose relationship to Elisabetta requires clarification through a brief genealogical digression.

There were actually three men by the name of Girolamo Querini in Elisabetta's life: her brother, her grandfather, and one who has been almost totally obscured—the son of her grandfather's brother (fig. 194). Despite quite obvious clues in the primary documents—testaments, letters, sonnets, genealogies—scholarship has consistently ignored or confused the more complex reality of multiple relatives, and has therefore inhibited a clear understanding Elisabetta's connection to Bembo, Della Casa and Titian.[24] The Girolamo Querini to whom Bembo addressed more than forty known letters beginning as early as 1530, could not have been, as has so often been maintained, Elisabetta's brother, who was acquainted with the cardinal, but was probably not in correspondence with him.[25] Some of Bembo's letters to Elisabetta, for example, refer to two separate Girolamos in a single missive. Girolamo di Ismerio, her first cousin once removed, seems to be the man Bembo addresses as Magnifi-

co Messer Girolamo or Ieronimo, while Elisabetta's brother (Girolamo di Francesco) is repeatedly invoked through the use of the endearing derivation, "my sweet Momolo".[26] Born in 1509, just a few years before his sister's marriage, he was obviously younger, which may be why Bembo refers to him so tenderly, often instructing Elisabetta and the cousin Girolamo to pass along his greetings in the form of a kiss. In several letters to Girolamo, Bembo mentions his correspondent's nephew Vincenzo and brother Marc'Antonio, names and relationships that conform to the family tree of the cousin Girolamo.[27] Elisabetta's brother, an amateur poet, was also dead by 1547, and was therefore unable to carry out a number of the rather significant tasks for which he has consistently been credited. It was instead Girolamo di Ismerio who was the closer correspondent of Bembo, and the one named lead executor of Elisabetta's estate in 1557, and as such the one charged with seeing to the completion of the still unfinished Titian altarpiece.[28]

In addition to serving as Councillor of Canea, Girolamo di Ismerio held several other governmental posts: he served as Podestà di Umago from 1506, was elected to the Giustizieri Vecchi in November 1521, and was among the forty-one that elected Doge Francesco Venier in 1545.[29] Bembo described him in a letter to Ottavio Falconieri as "a man of great prudence and judgement, extremely fond of *literati*, but not himself a man of letters".[30] Girolamo was also acquainted with Aretino, whose letters confirm Querini's close friendship with other major intellectuals such as Trifone Gabriele and Giangiorgio Trissino, who—according to Aretino—was also Girolamo Querini's uncle.[31] Because "he had no two dearer friends in the world", Bembo entrusted Girolamo and Elisabetta with negotiations for the betrothal his beloved daughter, Elena, in 1542.[32] Girolamo, along with Carlo Gualteruzzi, was also named Bembo's literary executor at the time of the cardinal's death in 1547. An inscription confirms it was in fact Girolamo di Ismerio who commissioned the Danese Cattaneo bust of Bembo that was eventually placed in the architectural monument usually attributed to Michele Sanmicheli at the Santo in Padua, and who accompanied Aretino, Jacopo Sansovino and Lorenzo Lotto to Danese's studio in January 1549 to see the bust in progress.[33] He seems also to have been involved in an unrealised project for a sculptural facade monument to Trifone Gabriele at the Celestia in Venice, and was certainly responsible for commissioning Cattaneo to produce a portrait medal in honour of Elisabetta following her death in 1559.[34]

The letters of Bembo and Della Casa suggest that Girolamo was instrumental in pressing the family's politically connected friends to help them bring Pietro out of exile. Bembo swung swiftly into action on behalf of Pietro, whom he had greeted in a letter to Elisabetta mere days before Chiara's murder.[35] Indeed, it seems to have escaped notice that on the same day

that Gregorio Cortese notified Cardinal Contarini of Pietro's arrival at San Benedetto (fig. 195), Bembo also sent a letter to Contarini's secretary Luca Beccadelli announcing that he was himself "returning from Mantua", having spent at least a week there settling in his son, Torquato, with a tutor.[36] Given the close association between Bembo and the fugitive's mother in the months leading up to the crime, it is not impossible that he somehow played a role in Massolo's placement at a monastery that was administered by Bembo's learned friends. His first gesture on Pietro's behalf involved a heartfelt appeal to Abbot Cortese to see to the young man's ongoing education on account of Bembo's love for his parents, who wished above all that the bulk of their son's hours might continue to be dedicated to the "buone lettere".[37] Bembo asked that a tutor might be assigned to Pietro, who had already received a formative education (along with his fellow pupil Francesco Sansovino) under the humanist teacher Giovita Ravizza in Venice. It is unlikely to be purely happenstance that Pietro found asylum at just the sort of place that could provide this type of support.

The letters of Bembo and Cortese from 1539 onward are littered with vague references to the pardon the Massolo family hoped to secure for Pietro, and reassurances of its realization.[38] In October 1539 Cortese wrote to Gasparo Contarini about the matter:

> "I know that you have received much information regarding the case of our monk Don Lorenzo of Venice, who when he was a secular became involved in this unfortunate case, and to purge himself retired here to the monastery, where he has remained for the past two years, with great satisfaction. Because it seems absurd to me that one dedicated to God, who has continually lived in a sacred location, has a bounty upon him, and in risk of defiling this place, it occurred to me to see, if by way of our Lord, you could implore the Signoria to lift the bounty at least in alien territories, outside the Dominio. Monsignor Reverendissimo Bembo, a great friend of his father and his uncles has promised to do his part from Venice, but I am not content with this. I would like to secure your favour, because of your natural inclination to help pious causes, and for the protection of our religion, of which this monk is a member. I cannot help but want to provide every advantage to this young man, that he be liberated from great danger, and also be freed from an anxious fear that continuously weighs on me, having committed him to our care".[39]

Bembo consoled Elisabetta at Christmas 1539, assuring her that despite the hectic demands of the season, her son was always on his mind, and that he would do what he could to "procure for Don Lorenzo that which is most desired, by whatever avenue God might reveal".[40] His promise to the mother went unful-

195. Abbey of San Benedetto in Polirone, San Benedetto Po (Mantua)

filled, for he wrote to her in January 1540 that it might be time to involve Gregorio Cortese once again. Bembo felt certain that should Pope Paul III live, Cortese would soon be made cardinal, something, he writes, that would "work to the profit of our Don Lorenzo".[41] Indeed, Cortese did rise to the rank of cardinal, and in November 1542 wrote to the man who had replaced him as abbot at San Benedetto, Don Marco da Pontremoli, with some news of the case. Evidently Bembo's efforts had previously been foiled by the Venetian ambassador—"a bestial man"—who had promised to write to the Signoria about the matter, but had almost certainly failed to do so. The new ambassador, however, had promised to correct the error of his predecessor.[42] Even as these powerful members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were gradually drawn into the scheme, the Massolo cause went unresolved. Astonishingly, none of these men—some of them deeply pious church reformers—registered the least amount of concern about the murder of which the young monk stood accused. On the contrary, their focus was

19

Ben ueggo io, TITIANO, in forme noue
L'idolo mio, che i begli occhi apre & gira,
In uoſtre viue charte, & parla & ſpira
Veracemente, e i dolci membri moue;
Et piacemi, che'l cor doppio ritroue
Il ſuo conforto, oue talhor ſoſpira;
Et mentre che l'un uolto & l'altro mira;
Brama il uero trouar, ne ſa ben doue:
Ma io come potrò l'interna parte
Formar giamai di queſta altera imago,
Oſcuro fabro a ſi chiara opra eletto?
Tu Phebo (poi ch'Amor men rende uago)
Reggi il mio ſtil, che tanto alto ſubietto
Fia ſomma gloria a la tua nobil arte.

196. *Rime et prose di Monsignor Giovanni della Casa* (Venice: Nicolò Bevilacqua, 1558), p. 19

on consoling him. Bembo's letters to Don Lorenzo throughout 1543–1545 encourage him in his literary pursuits and reassure him of the wellbeing of his family back in Venice.[43] Massolo's correspondent Vincenzo Borghini—the Florentine historian, Benedictine, and friend of Vasari—wrote a lengthy seven-page letter in Latin on Christmas Eve 1543, quoting passages from St. Paul and Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* in hopes of alleviating the pain of his friend's separation from his parents.[44]

The Massolo family gathered further powerful support for their cause with the arrival in September 1544 of the papal nuncio to Venice, Giovanni Della Casa. He entered their circle upon the recommendation of his two friends in Rome: Bembo, and another member of their literary circle, Carlo Gualteruzzi. They had both been the beneficiaries of the bottomless generosity of the Querini cousins in Venice, and they may well have suspected that Girolamo's acquaintance would afford Della Casa some entertaining company and perhaps even assistance during his stay in the lagoon city.[45] Bem-

197. Anonymous Venetian painter (after Titian), *Elisabetta Querini Massolo*, probably 1576–1600, Musée des Augustin, Toulouse

bo's cheery letter to Girolamo Querini introducing Della Casa also records that the nuncio had allowed him to lodge at his Roman palace in his absence. There, Bembo was enjoying the Titian portrait of Elisabetta Querini that belonged to Gualteruzzi but was on loan to Della Casa.[46] By the mid 1540s all three men owned Titian portraits of Elisabetta, the lady who would take center stage in their correspondence again for a period of a few years, with talk of the pardon temporarily receding into the background.[47]

Throughout 1544 and 1545, letters exchanged between Bembo, Della Casa, Gualteruzzi, Girolamo and Elisabetta Querini were focused on other things, some involving Titian.[48] Della Casa's letters reported to Gualteruzzi that Elisabetta was hounding him for verses inspired by the portrait Titian had painted of her sometime between 1544 and 1545, perhaps to display amongst the elaborate *spalliere* she had arranged to be surreptitiously installed in his bedroom while he was out on official business.[49] The pressure to produce the *La Massola* sonnets drove Della Casa to a crippling bout of writer's block and eventually to the solitude of a house on Murano that had been arranged for him by Girolamo Querini.[50] But the nuncio eventually warmed to the lady and produced five *rime* in her honour, praising in his prose all the qualities Bembo and others so admired in her, and the remarkable way Titian had succeeded in bringing his "idol" to life (figs. 196–197).[51]

Della Casa also forged a relationship with Elisabetta's cousin Girolamo. They exchanged various favours and advice; the nuncio wrote to Gualteruzzi a few short months after his arrival in Venice that he had fallen in love with a woman, but that Querini had convinced him to give her up, promising to find him a match of greater sophistication.[52] They became even more familiar after the death of Bembo in 1547, when Della Casa played mediator between Girolamo and Gualteruzzi over a disagreement regarding the resolution of Bembo's literary estate, of which they were co-executors.[53] By the time Della Casa left Venice in 1549, their bond was so great that it was Giro-

lamo to whom the nuncio entrusted the not insignificant task of securing custody of his illegitimate son, conceived with a courtesan before he left for Rome. The child, named Quirinetto, was to live with the Querini family for about five years, and became so dear to Elisabetta that she included him in her testament.[54]

Given all of this, it is unsurprising to find that the nuncio was actively engaged in the quest for the lifting of Pietro's bounty throughout the spring of 1546, having agreed to approach Stefano Tiepolo in hopes of securing his blessing for the long sought-after pardon for Pietro Massolo.[55] On 1 May 1546, Della Casa wrote to Gualteruzzi, who was also a friend of Tiepolo, that he had little hope of convincing the powerful statesman, for he remained "ever so bitter, as if the whole thing had happened yesterday".[56] Tiepolo had confided that the prolonged discussion had opened old wounds, prompting Della Casa to admit to Gualteruzzi that without Tiepolo's support there was little hope of changing minds, as Venetians deferred to "this noble and much respected gentleman".[57]

Although Della Casa seems to have been granted papal authority to intervene in the case, no dispensation was ever made for Pietro, who instead thrived in monastic life at San Benedetto until his death in 1590.[58] He became an acclaimed poet and a correspondent of many of the leading ecclesiastical, political and literary figures of the time, publishing three editions of moral sonnets devoted to many of them, first in 1557 with Antonio Manuzio, and again in 1558 with Lorenzo Torrentino, the Florentine publisher of Vasari's *Lives*.[59]

In May 1547, a year after Della Casa's unsuccessful mediations, Elisabetta wrote a new testament, appointing her husband and "il mag[nifi]co M. Hier[oni]mo Querini fo del mag[nifi]co Smerio' as her executors. Her cousin replaced her recently deceased brother and her renegade son, who had both been named *commissarie* in her will of a decade earlier.[60] This document is the first to name the Crociferi church as the site of the Massolo "archa". Her previous will of 1 May 1537, written just weeks before Chiara's murder, had expressed only a desire to be buried with her husband, son, and an already deceased daughter, but did not specify location.[61] Lorenzo Massolo's testament of 18 November 1548 provides some clarification. He wished that his body be placed in his tomb before his altar in the Crociferi church, and specified that no one else should be buried there besides himself, his wife, and the bones of their daughter, which he states could be found buried in San Giorgio Maggiore.[62] This is also the first document to mention the altarpiece, already commissioned, but destined to remain incomplete for a decade to follow:

> "La Palla del qual altare voglio del si habbia a finir et cussì el coverchio de ditta sepoltura".[63]

It may well be that Elisabetta's 1537 testament referred to some sort of burial arrangement the family had at San Giorgio, where their daughter was already interred, a burial site that was later shifted to the Crociferi church. Elisabetta's family had connections to the Benedictine monastery through her uncle, the humanist and reformer Vincenzo Querini, who was also a friend of Bembo, Cortese and Contarini.[64] Elisabetta was also acquainted with the Abbot of San Giorgio, Don Basilio, for Bembo's letters to both parties from 1539 to 1541 contain requests for one to greet the other on his behalf.[65] An affinity to the order that might have prompted the Massolo family's desire to be buried at the island church could only have been strengthened when Pietro Massolo took refuge and assumed the Benedictine habit at San Benedetto in Polirone. The timing of the relocation of the family's burial location to the Crociferi church can be secured by Elisabetta's second testament to sometime before 25 May 1547, about the time that Della Casa was making his appeals to the victim's father to support the pardon.[66] I would suggest that the foundation of the altar together with its altarpiece was in fact a gesture related to the family's efforts to appease Stefano Tiepolo. Lorenzo's 1548 testament contains further evidence of their desire to make amends:

> "I leave to Magnifico Messer Stefano Tiepolo and his heirs twenty five ducati del Intrado [...] as a sign of my love, and of the love that I carried for that poor Chiara, his daughter and my dear daughter-in-law".[67]

But why would such a gesture have moved Stefano Tiepolo? Numerous documents reveal that Tiepolo had a special investment in the Crociferi church. He served for many years as their lay procurator, from at least 1543 until the end of his life, and was succeeded in this office by his son, the distinguished diplomat, Paolo Tiepolo.[68] The office of lay procurator was created in the thirteenth century in most of the *contrade* of Venice.[69] Chapters of parish and monastic churches elected gentlemen to serve as advocates for their community, to oversee finances, to defend their rights in government and the various magistracies, to resolve legal issues, to handle bequests and manage properties. Regulations limiting the rights of religious institutions to own property necessitated the involvement of lay representatives, who also provided a particularly critical form of assistance to cloistered communities by becoming a conduit to the outside world. The role was frequently passed through families, establishing an appealing kind of continuity akin to the *jus patronatus* patrician castes sometimes enjoyed over Venetian churches. During the years in which Stefano was associated with the Crociferi, the order was struggling to rehabilitate its reputation and regain control over its administration after almost a century of disciplinary action taken against it.[70] Disobedience, relaxation of rule, costume

and accusations of corruption within the order in the mid-Quattrocento led to the placement of a *commenda* over all Crociferi monasteries. This censure, which placed financial and administrative responsibility of the monastery beyond the reach of the *frati*, was still in effect in 1556, the year in which the Republic began to actively intervene on behalf of the Venetian Crociferi in an attempt to restore their autonomy. Doge Francesco Venier, via ambassador Bernardo Navagero, convinced Paul IV to lift certain restrictions, and Pius V eventually abolished the *commenda* entirely in 1568. The impetus for the order's renewal emerged from the Venetian house, fuelled by a particular group of high-ranking Crociferi fathers who contributed to the repair of their reputation in the second half of the century by publishing a reformed constitution and histories of their order.[71]

Various documents record that Tiepolo was instrumental in assisting the Crociferi in restoring stability, along with his fellow lay procurator and another distinguished statesman, Nicolò Zen, whose father Caterino and grandfather Pietro had preceded him in this role, the latter founding a burial chapel in the church.[72] Multiple records survive that document both Zen and Tiepolo, and even Giovanni della Casa, intervening to defend the rights of the Crociferi, especially around the mid-1550s. Indeed, amongst the letters written by Della Casa to his nephew, Annibale Ruccellai—an influential member of the household of Cardinal Carlo Carafa in Rome—we find a request from the former nuncio on behalf of both the Crociferi *and* Stefano Tiepolo. Della Casa wrote on 19 April 1555 that Tiepolo asked him to appeal to Annibale to press for the assistance of the powerful cardinals, Ranuccio Farnese and Giovanni Ricci da Montepulciano, in securing support for the monastery's cause, stating

> "You know how much Stefano merits amongst each of [the cardinals], and how much we are obligated to his goodness and courtesy, and so on this occasion endeavour to show gratitude".[73]

It was not the first time Della Casa had intervened on behalf of the monastery. Another document indicates that among his first acts of business upon his arrival in Venice in 1544 was to appeal to his friend Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for a reduction in taxes in favour of the Venetian Crociferi, and in 1545 he intervened to save the *ospizio* of the Crociferi monastery of San Martino di Conegliano, a dependent of the Venetian house.[74]

The involvement of Tiepolo and Della Casa with the Crociferi also coincided with a phase of redecoration of the church that formed a visual parallel to the rejuvenation of the order. The presbytery received a renovation in the 1550s with an altarpiece by Tintoretto, flanked

198. Reconstruction of Tintoretto's paintings in the presbytery of the Church of the Crociferi, Venice (Allison Sherman – Carlo Corsato)

199. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Wedding at Cana*, 1561, Sacristy, Basilica of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice

by monumental stucco saints by Alessandro Vittoria, and two lateral pictures by Tintoretto and Andrea Schiavone (fig. 198).[75] The refectory was furnished with a Tintoretto *Wedding at Cana* shortly thereafter (fig. 199), and three new altars were gradually established in the nave of the church.[76] Between 1560 and 1620, the church and nearby oratory were ornamented with more than fifty individual works by Palma il Giovane, whom the Crociferi fathers had nurtured from the time he was a boy.[77] Indeed, a *terminus ante quem* of 1559 for Titian's altarpiece has traditionally been secured by Ridolfi's testimony that the visiting Duke of Urbino discovered the talent of the fifteen-year-old Palma in the Crociferi church while he was sketching the freshly installed *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (fig. 200).[78] This impressive phase of decoration, responsive both stylistically and iconographically to the latest trends in church decoration, was coordinated and solicited by the shrewd Crociferi fathers, but it may also have been influenced by their sophisticated lay protectors, Tiepo-

200. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1548–1559, Church of the Gesuiti, Venice

201. (left) Jacopo Tintoretto, *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Gold Chain* (*Nicolò Zen?*), c. 1555–1560, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

202. (right) Titian, *Portrait of Nicolò Zen*, c. 1547–1550, Kingston Lacy Collection, Dorset

lo and Zen. Nicolò Zen, whose portrait was painted by Titian and possibly also by Tintoretto, lived in a palace opposite the Crociferi church that had been frescoed by Andrea Schiavone and Tintoretto (figs. 201–203).[79] Tiepolo also had a history of interest and involvement in the arts.[80] Like Girolamo Querini, he had connections to Danese Cattaneo, who produced a bust of his image.[81] While podestà of Padua, Tiepolo summoned Michele Sanmicheli to evaluate Danese's work at the Chapel of the Santo, and he was responsible for commissioning Domenico Campagnola to fresco the Sala dei Nodari at the Palazzo Moroni.[82] The provision of a Titian altarpiece would have been recognised by almost anyone as a welcome coup for any church, but Tiepolo was particularly well equipped to understand the significance such an object would have for the monastery under his protection at a critical moment in its spiritual and decorative renaissance.

Any number of the individuals involved might have facilitated this artistic gesture, including Elisabetta's cousin Girolamo, whose involvement with other major commissions has already been noted. Bembo's letters inform us that Titian

203. Canaletto, View of Palazzo Zen from *Campo dei Gesuiti* (detail, fig. 21)

and Girolamo were well-acquainted, and that the painter credited Querini for having inspired his 1545 Roman sojourn.[83] Just as favourably placed to suggest such a deed was the papal nuncio-turned-mediator, familiar with both the Massolo and Tiepolo families, and with Titian, to whom Della Casa was connected in a variety of ways almost from the moment of his arrival in Venice.[84] But it would be unwise to dismiss the role of Elisabetta in this narrative. It was she who mobilised her circle in the campaign for Pietro's pardon, a fact which lends further support to what has always been suspected: that she was the driving force behind the commission. She shared her own history with Titian as his sitter, and—as Bembo wrote—she had treated him generously as a patron.[85] It may even have been the ease between friends that allowed the project to drag on for more than a decade.[86] Even Lorenzo's testament hints at her control of the situation, noting that the altarpiece should be brought to completion according to certain intentions, but failing to specify them, directs the reader instead to his wife, who "knows it all".[87] And somehow we do not doubt it. In addition to her rare beauty and intellect, a portrait of a take-charge kind of woman who enjoyed the spotlight emerges from the pages of correspondence and poetry dedicated to her. Catherine Whistler has astutely characterised her as an "active agent" who assumed bold initiative in furnishing Della Casa's quarters with wall hangings to create a suitably handsome space in which her portrait might hang, undoubtedly with the hope that it would inspire flattering poetry in her honour.[88] Many have argued for various cryptic references to Elisabetta's involvement in the Crociferi altarpiece, perhaps most persuasively for the significance of the veiled statue of the Roman goddess Vesta.[89] This protector of the hearth and familial virtue is an allusion especially appropriate to a woman who hailed from a family that claimed ancient Roman descent, and was named for Quirinus, the deified Romulus.

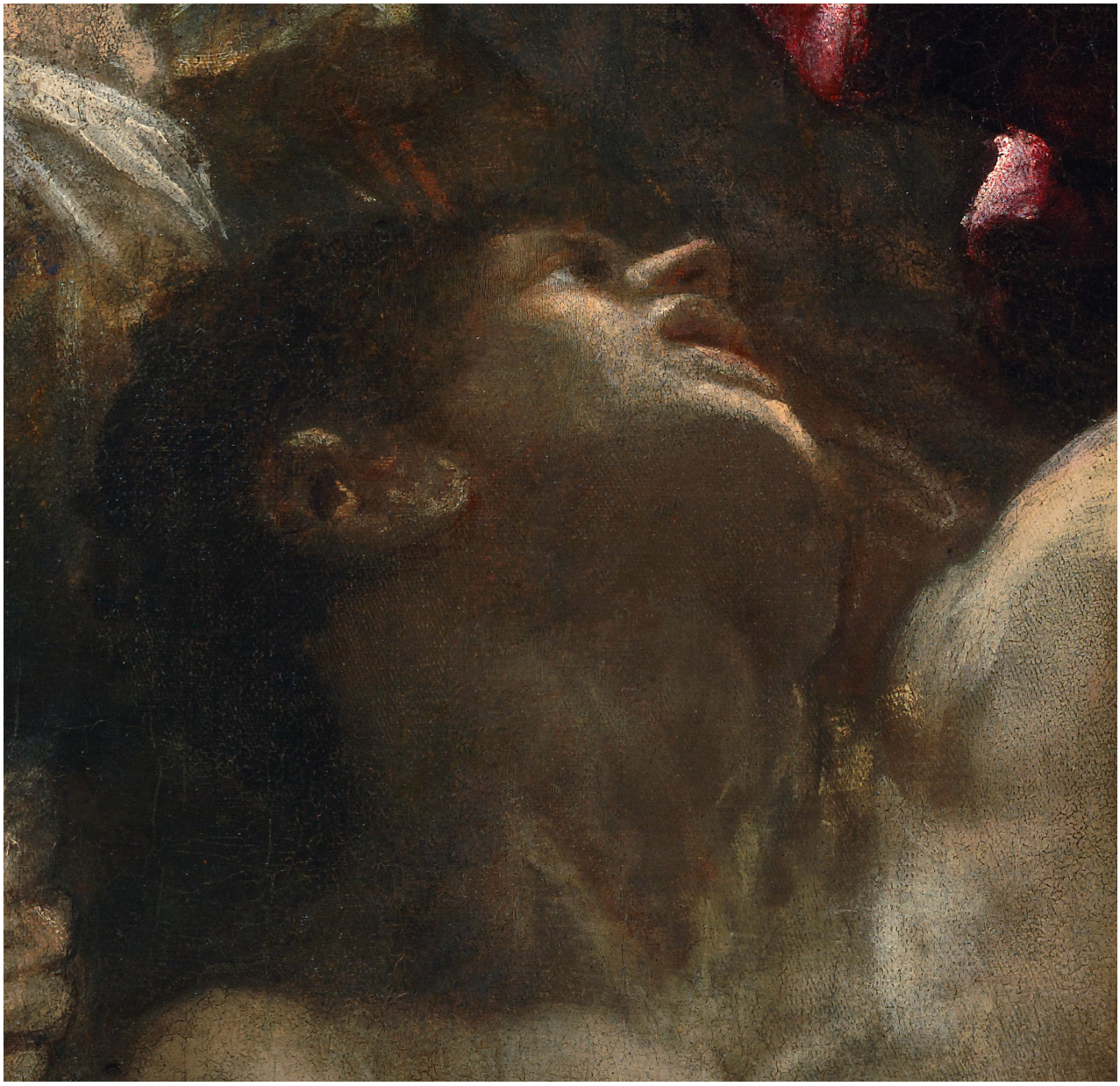
It is hard to imagine that Elisabetta would have missed such a golden opportunity for commemoration, but even as an extraordinary woman, it would be anomalous to suggest that she would have expected to be overtly referenced in the altarpiece. If there is evidence of her in this image, it might better be described as decorously latent; she went quietly into the night. Her mark is left by the choice of the artist, and perhaps even by elements of the work that are so remarkably novel that they could only have been geared toward a rather progressive patron. The fiery nocturnal scene of Lawrence's martyrdom assumed unprecedented drama on a life-size scale; gone is the traditional static, passive figure leaning on a grill. In the altarpiece's original setting, the viewer would have encountered the foreshortened Lawrence, feet first on the right as they moved up the nave. The spectator would have been drawn with greater ease into the composition and the darkness that engulfs the saint, broken only by the licking flames, torches, and a bolt of lightning, seen only by Lawrence and the pious witness in front of the canvas (fig. 204). This effect would only have been heightened by the addition of two actual torches, which Lorenzo stipulated should be placed on the altar on special occasions.[90] The looming classical temple emerging from the night—perhaps drawn from a memory of the trip to Rome Girolamo Querini had inspired—and the violent postures of Lawrence's tormentors, pushing, pulling and watching in cruel inaction, inspire in the spectator pity, fear, and horror (fig. 205).

The theatricality and violence of the image, the powerfully conveyed impression of the saint's victory over death, of the Christian faith over the pagan world, has been recognised as an early manifestation of the new priorities sought for the Counter-Reformation altarpiece, which at this stage still remained to be codified. It was precisely during the 1540s that Venice became more aware of the Protestant threat and a need to remain vigilant against it. Della Casa's arrival in the city in 1544 signalled a superficial openness to addressing the concerns of the papacy, whereas in reality he was met with the usual Venetian resistance to external interference. As Peter Humfrey has noted, the echoes of Counter-Reformation spirituality discernable in altarpieces like this one "may be interpreted less as the result of instructions from bishops and the clergy than a spontaneous response by artists and their lay patrons to a generally diffused mood of religious revival".[91] Through connections to the most sophisticated circles of learning, and to major ecclesiastical figures, not least of which was Giovanni Della Casa, Elisabetta and Titian both had access to ideas that may well have contributed to this sort of result. Although far more invested in the production of his profane literary works than in religious reform, the nun-

204. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (detail, fig. 200)

TITIANVS VECELLVS
ÆQVES F

cio did, after all, have a front row seat to the early sessions of the Council of Trent and was responsible for the first index of prohibited books.[92] But against the backdrop of this family tragedy, the drama of this altarpiece—a painting about suffering and torment, but ultimately hope and redemption—takes on new significance quite apart from such influences. In this respect, there may even be something in



205–206. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (detail, fig. 200)

this image of Pietro, who by the time of its commission had been living for a decade as Don Lorenzo. Although provided for in the testaments of both his parents, Pietro was disowned in the inscription on the family tomb. It emphatically stated that his father was the last of his family line, a decorous omission that might be interpreted as consistent with the concept of a peace offering to Tiepolo.[93] Perhaps for Lorenzo and Elisabetta, their exiled son, like his mother, found expression in their monument in a less obvious way: in the form of the writhing, tortured figure of Lawrence on his grill, reaching through the perpetual darkness towards that hopeful break in Titian's night sky (fig. 206).

There is a further, poignant parallel in

Prudentius' late fourth-century poetic account of Lawrence's martyrdom—the generally accepted source for the painting first identified by Panofsky—a text that culminates with a confession for absolution of the "sinner poet Prudentius":

> Among these sons, O saint of Christ,
> Give audience to a rustic poet
> Who humbly bares his sinful heart
> And owns his guilt and misery.
>
> I am not worthy Christ Himself
> Should hear me, this too well I know,
> But martyr advocates can win
> His salutary grace for me.
>
> O kindly hear Prudentius,
> A culprit at the bar of Christ,
> And from the bondage of the flesh
> And earthly fetters set him free.[94]

We might well expect to find evidence of such penitential sentiments in Don Lorenzo Massolo's own poetic *Rime morali*, but as in the correspondence of his powerful allies, there is nothing but discomforting silence regarding his dark past.[95] However, amongst the sonnets to illustrious men, the disgraced son-in-law penned a patriotic tribute to the military successes of the Capitano Generale Stefano Tiepolo.[96] Perhaps this was Pietro's contribution to the mollifications initiated by his parents, who may have hoped that their Titian—a painting none of the major parties involved probably lived to see finished—would tip the scales in favour of their son, just as St. Lawrence's death had done for the Christian faith.[97]

Document I

ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, Registri, reg. 5, c. 57v

XXVIII Junij MDXXXVII

In consilio X

S. Petrus Zeno
S. Jo. Francesco Mauroceno
S. Hieronimo Zane

Capita

Atrocissimo e stato il caso della morte senza niuna causa crudelmente perpetrata da S. Piero Mas[s]olo nella q. Donna Chiara fo fiola del N[obel] homo Stephano Tiepolo soa consorte giovene li di avanti tradutta ~~et gravida~~ , che à commemorarlo die indur ciascun à commiseratione et molto più moverne a far contra tal scelesto quella dimostration de iustitia ch[e] se die meritamente

Et perho.

Landara parte, che per autorità di questo conseglio sia data faculta alli Avogadori de commun, che col conseglio di Quarantia criminal possano in la condannason, che contra el ditto S. Piero Masolo se fara poner che quello ó quelli lo amazara etiam in terre aliene possa liberar uno ch[e] sia bandito per el conseglio di Quarantia de tutte le terre et luoghi n[ost]ri si da terra come da mar, et di Venetia, et de navilij armati, et disarmati, excettuati quelli ch[e] fusseno sta ó fusseno relegati et confinasi si in vita come a tempo et etiam excetti quelli ch[e] havessero tagia di poter esser amazati in terre aliene.

De parte 10
De non 6
Non sinc 1

Document II

ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, Registri, reg. 5, c. 58r

XVI julij MDXXXVII

In consiglio X

Essendo sta ditto nell' exordio della parte presa in questo conseglio adi 28 zugno prox. passato ch[e] fosse gravida la q. Donna Chiara fiola del N[obel] homo Stefano Tiepolo amazata da S. Piero Masolo suo marito, perche questo non se contien nel processo sopra tal caso formato, et manco esta fatta mention di questo in la parte della retention, come hora esta dechiarito. Perho

Landara parte ch[e] X cio el tut[t]o passi veridicamente & come se die p[er] iustitia sia depenata et remossa dall ditta parte quella parola gravida.

12 De parte
0 De Non
3 Non sinc

[1] P. Conti, "Nel capolavoro restaurato spunta un inedito autoritratto di Tiziano", *Corriere della Sera*, 17 May 2012, p. 45; C. Cremonini, L. Puppi and A. Nicola Pisano, *Tiziano. Atto II*, Banca d'Alba, 2012. The restoration was funded by the Banca d'Alba and was undertaken by Anna Rosa Nicola Pisano at the Laboratorio di Nicola Restauri di Aramengo.

[2] F. Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima, et singolare*, Venice, 1581, f. 61r; P. Massolo, *Rime morali di Pietro Massolo gentilhuomo vinitiano, hora don Lorenzo monaco cassinese. Divise in quattro libri; col commento di Francesco Sansovino*, Venice: Antonio Rampazetto, 1583, preface. Sansovino's laudatory preface traces his friendship with Massolo across five decades.

[3] G. Bettinelli, *Dizionario storico-portatile di tutte le venete patrizie famiglie…*, Venice, 1790, p. 103; *Stemmario veneziano Orsini De Marzo*, ed. N. Orsini De Marzo, Milan, 2007, pp. 134–135. "Da Padova in Malamocco, si rifuggiò questa Famiglia, per le irruzioni di Attila. Produsse Tribuni Antichi, ed un ramo di essa passò nelle Colonie di Candia".

[4] H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: complete edition*, vol. II: *The Portraits*, London, 1971, p. 204, cat. L-26; C. Whistler, "Uncovering Beauty: Titian's *Triumph of Love* in the Vendramin Collection", *Renaissance Studies*, 26, 2012, pp. 234–236. An engraving by Giuseppe Canale may reproduce one of Titian's portraits of Elisabetta. Painted copies that correspond to Canale's print are in the Louvre, Paris and the Villa Borghese, Rome.

[5] P. Aretino, *Poesie*, ed. G. Sborselli, Lanciano, 1930, vol. II, p. 222. See also Aretino's letter to Titian of October 1543 in P. Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte*, ed. E. Camesasca, with commentary by F. Pertile, 3 vols, Milan, 1957–1960, vol. II, pp. 11–12.

[6] C. Hope, *Titian*, London, 1980, p. 141. The suggestion that Massolo was a lawyer is not supported by primary documentary evidence.

[7] M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto* (*1496–1533*), Bologna, 1969, vol. 54, pp. 443, 457, 492. Sanudo recorded Massolo investing considerable sums of eight, four and five thousand ducats on three separate occasions in May, June and July of 1531.

[8] M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore, 2009, p. 153.

[9] ASV, Barbaro, VI. 28, fols 334–335. Girolamo quondam Ismerio belonged to the «V» branch of the Querini family, while Elisabetta belonged to the «Z» branch, descended from Girolamo, the brother of Ismerio. The Council of Ten had exiled Girolamo's father, Ismerio, to Crete in 1514. Thanks to Monique O'Connell for confirming Querini's lineage when I did not have access to the genealogies. For the election of "Hieronimo Querini fu Ismerio" as Councillor of Canea on 25 July 1515, see ASV, Segretario alle Voci, reg. 8, fol. 103v.

[10] P. Bembo, *Lettere* (*1537–1546*), vol. IV, ed. E. Travi, Bologna, 1993.

[11] P. Bembo, *Opere di M. Pietro Bembo* (*Rime*), Milan, 1808, vol. II, pp. 286–290, sonnets

CXXIII–CXXVII. Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, p. 123, n. 1943. Bembo later wrote to Antonio Anselmi that the modest Elisabetta resisted being portrayed as a nude goddess.

[12] Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, pp. 31–32, n. 1837 (April 1537); pp. 112–113, n. 1930 (10 May 1538). A *medaglietta* was a topic of discussion in the first known letter from Bembo to Elisabetta, and the second referred to her gift of a *testa di marmo antica*, complete with bust and pedestal. For example, in January of 1539 he confided in Elisabetta about the as yet unresolved matter of his promotion to cardinal (Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, p. 171, n. 2007), and in July 1544 he declared that "Santa Elisabetta and Santo Girolamo Querini" were "descended from heaven to listen to me", on this occasion to a rant about disinheriting his son, Torquato (Bembo *Lettere*, IV, p. 501, n. 2438).

[13] Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, pp. 484, n. 2413 (7 February 1544) and pp. 492–493, n. 2425 (15 March 1544).

[14] ASV, Barbaro, VII.32, fols 84, 141. Stefano Tiepolo quondam Paolo belonged to the «B» branch of the Tiepolo family at Santi Apostoli. He married Donna Cecilia Priuli di Bernardo in 1517 and together they had seven children: Chiara, Andriana, Monica (a nun at S. Giuseppe), Paolo (Cavaliere and Procuratore di San Marco, 1576), Almorò (Capitano delle fuste, 1570), Benedetto, and Andrea. Stefano was among the forty-one who elected Doges Francesco Venier (1554) and Lorenzo Priuli (1556), and he was balloted twice for Doge (1553 and 1554). For the testaments of Stefano and Cecilia respectively: ASV, NA (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1214, n. 978 (16 April 1550) and b. 1208, n. 393 (14 March 1544).

[15] ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Contratti di nozze, reg. 143, cc. 392–393; P. Molmenti, "Un poeta uxoricidia del secolo XVI", *Nuova Antologia*, 62, 1927, pp. 129–141. The marriage contract was registered on 16 April 1537, and in conformity with the laws of the time, the groom presented himself before the Avogaria di Comun on 3 May 1537 with four witnesses to the marriage. The contract also included an inventory of Chiara's bridal garb, valued at one hundred-sixty ducats. On the dowry regulations of 1535, see S. Chojnacki, "Identity and Ideology in Renaissance Venice. The Third *Serrata*", in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. J. Martin and D. Romano, Baltimore, 2002, p. 281.

[16] ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Raspe, reg. 3668/28, c. 195. "[…] duobus vulneribus de puncta altero penetranti versus cor, altero vero in faciem subtus oculum dextrum, ex quibus percussionibus statim miserabiliter mortua fuit […]".

[17] G. Cortese, *Gregorii Cortesii… Omnia, quae huc usque colligi potuerunt: sive ab eo scripta, sive ad illum spectantia*, Padua, 1774, vol. I, pp. 121–122. "[…] vi ritrovai uno Giovine di Anni XVIII Gentiluomo Veneziano da Ca Massolo, unico del suo Padre, e forse anco della successione di quella Casa, qual avendo fatta instanzia

grande a questi venerabili Padri [of San Benedetto] di esser admesso nel consorzio loro a server Dio, era stato accettato, parendo in Lui essere ottima voluntà, ornate costume, e sufficiente litteratura. Ora da lui stesso si è inteso, che essendo stato usorato circa mesi XVII all'ultimo per sdegno ed anco per qualche sospetto ha ammazzata la moglie".

[18] Molmenti, "Un poeta uxoricidia", pp. 129–141.

[19] ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Raspe, reg. 3668/28, c. 195. For a full transcription of this document, see Molmenti, "Un poeta uxoricidia", pp. 132–133.

[20] ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, Registri, reg. 5, c. 57^{v}; see Appendix I.

[21] *Ibid.*, c. 58^{r}; see Appendix II.

[22] G. degli Agostini, *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*, Venice, 1752–1754, vol. II, p. 576.

[23] R. Gallo, "Per il "San Lorenzo martire" di Tiziano. I committenti—La datazione", *Rivista di Venezia*, 14, n. 4, 1935, pp. 155–174.

[24] E. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, Venice, 1824–1853, vol. I, pp. 117–118; J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Titian: His Life and Times*, London, 1881, vol. I, p. 418. Previous scholarship has consistently identified Girolamo Querini as the brother or grandfather of Elisabetta. The mistake seems to have originated with Cicogna, was repeated by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and has been perpetuated ever since. For example, see C. Dionisotti, "Bembo, Pietro", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. VIII, 1966, pp. 131–151; O. Moroni, *Corrispondenza Giovanni della Casa – Carlo Gulateruzzi (1523–1549)*, Vatican, 1986, p. 20; C. Terribile, "Il doge Francesco Donà e la *Pala di San Giovanni Elemosinario* di Tiziano", *Venezia Cinquecento*, VII, 1997, pp. 123–126; C. Kidwell, *Pietro Bembo: Lover, Linguist, Cardinal*, Montreal, 2004, p. 459; U. D'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 180; Whistler, "Uncovering Beauty", p. 237.

[25] Bembo, *Lettere*, III, p. 153, n. 1111 (18 June 1530).

[26] Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, p. 246, n. 2105; pp. 282–283, n. 2152; pp. 383–384, n. 2284. Bembo spoke of both "Magnifico M. Girolamo Quirino" and "Momolo" in letters of 1 August 1539 and 10 January 1540 to Elisabetta Querini, and wrote "baciandomi Momolo" in a letter to Girolamo Querini of 23 September 1543. Massolo, *Rime morali*, f. 61$^{r–v}$. Sansovino distinguished between the two in his commentary on the sonnet written by Pietro Massolo on the occasion of Bembo's death: "Venuto a morte Pietro Bembo, lume dell'età nostra, il Poeta molto amato da lui, si duole di contal morte con M. Hieronimo Quirino Smerio, huomo honorato, & grand'amico & cordiale d'esso Bembo, sicome per diversi Sonetti dal Bembo scritti al Quirino si vede. Ovvero a Hieronimo Quirino fratello della madre del Poeta & suo zio [...]".

[27] Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, p. 331, n. 2217; p. 550, n. 2509.

[28] BMC, Ms. Cicogna 3423, n. 17 (Atti Gi-

rolamo Parto), 8 March 1557, c. 1r: "Comissarij e executori di questa mio testamento lasso il Mag[nific]o m. Hier[oni]mo Querini fo de m. Ismerio, m.Vincenzo Querino fo del Mag[nific]o m. Zorzi et m. Francesco Querini fo del Mag[nific]o m. Hier[oni]mo mio nevodo. Ma voglio che m. Hier[oni]mo Querini fo de m. Ismerio s'intendi comissario per la mazor parte fino che vive, il qual prego che dagli execution a questo ordinare".

[29] ASV, Segretario alle Voci, reg. 7, fol. 55r and reg. 8, fol. 63r. Like the Massolo couple, Girolamo lived near San Cancian. See his testament: ASV, NT (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1210, n. 617.

[30] P. Bembo, *Opere del cardinale Pietro Bembo: Lettere*, 1810, vol. VIII, p. 120: "[...] uomo di prudenza grande e di giudicio, e amicissimo e affezionatissimo de' letterati, ma non uomo di lettere'.

[31] Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte*, vol. I, p. 93 (1 December 1537).

[32] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 417, n. 2328. Bembo wrote to Girolamo on 10 June 1542: "E perché io vedo, per le lettere di M. Flaminio, che voi insieme con Mad. Isabetta laudareste Fran[cesc]o Quir[ino] di M. Ier[onim]o, tanto è l'amore che io a voi porto, e quello che io so che voi portate a me, e la prudenza dell'uno e dell'altra, che io ho deliberato rimettere al vostro giudizio tutta questa causa. E sì come io non ho oggimai in questa vita amici più cari di voi due, voglio che in vostra libertà stia la più cara cosa che io al mondo abbia, la quale è questa figliuola". Elisabetta and Girolamo proposed their relative, Francesco di Girolamo, but the arrangement fell through due to his father's overly ambitious dowry request. See S. G. Ross, *The Birth of Feminism. Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England*, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 54–60.

[33] Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte*, vol. II, pp. 274–275 (5 January 1549). On Bembo's monument, see L. Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli architetto: opera completa*, Rome, 1986, p. 128; M. Morresi, "Trifone Gabriele, Danese Cattaneo e il Monumento Bembo al Santo di Padova", in *Alessandro Vittoria e l'arte veneta della maniera*, ed. L. Finocchi Ghersi, Udine, 2001, pp. 77–80.

[34] G. F. Hill, "Notes on Italian Medals – XIV", *The Burlington Magazine*, 23, no. 121, 1913, pp. 17–23. On the project for statues in niches celebrating Gabriele on the façade of the Celestia, a project given to Vincenzo Scamozzi and described by Stringa that seems not to have ever been realized, see: Morresi, "Trifone Gabriele", p. 77.

[35] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 38, n. 1846 (6 June 1537).

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 50–51, n. 1858 (6 July 1537).

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119, n. 1937 (25 June 1538).

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 246, n. 2105 (1 August 1539 to Elisabetta Querini).

[39] Cortese, *Omnia...*, vol. I, pp. 121–122, n. 14 (16 October 1539) and pp. 125–126, n. 15 (15 November 1539).

[40] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 277, n. 2147.

[41] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, pp. 282–283, n. 2152.

[42] G. Fragnito, *Il cardinale Gregorio Cortese nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento*, Rome,

1983, pp. 109–110, n. 24 (4 November 1542); Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 427, n. 2343. In July of 1542 Bembo wrote to Contarini via his secretary, Beccadelli, in hopes that they might write letters of intercession.

[43] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 449, n. 2374 (7 September 1538), p. 498, n. 2434 (15 June 1544), p. 528, n. 2478 (20 May 1545), pp. 550–551, n. 2509 (12 December 1545). Bembo wrote in 1538 that Don Lorenzo—whom he loved "as a son"—was a blessing to his monastery and the world, for good and devoted defenders were always needed. He reported that Pietro's mother and all of his relatives were well, and that they delighted in the good news that they received about his progress. In December 1545 Bembo wrote to Girolamo Querini that he had received Don Lorenzo's "gentile epistoletta ben latina e ben composta, insieme con un epigramma di otto versi, dotto parimente e gentile assai".

[44] *Il carteggio di Vincenzo Borghini*, ed. D. Francalanci, F. Pellegrini, and E. Carrara, Florence, 2001, vol. I, pp. 79–80, 164–170.

[45] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 394, n. 2297 (11 November 1541). Bembo reported to Girolamo Querini that he had heard about Gualteruzzi's recent visit to them in Venice and the many kindnesses that both Girolamo and Elisabetta had bestowed upon him. Girolamo later assisted Gualteruzzi with his son's education, and hosted him after he fled Rome for Venice, fearing implication in a case that was under investigation by the Inquisition.

[46] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 505, n. 2444 (3 August 1544).

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 477–478, n. 2403; Moroni, *Corrispondenza*, no. 79 (20 June 1545) and no. 121 (17 December 1545); Whistler, "Uncovering Beauty", p. 235. Titian's first portrait of Elisabetta was for Bembo, who mentioned it in a letter to Girolamo Querini on 24 December 1543. Another portrait of the lady belonged to Gualteruzzi and was loaned to Della Casa sometime before August 1544 when Bembo noted he was enjoying it during his stay at the nuncio's Roman palace. When Gualteruzzi wrote to Della Casa in 1545 of his desire to reclaim the loaned picture, he spoke of his envy for the nuncio's portrait of Elisabetta, all the more valuable because it was by the hand of the master himself. Della Casa remarked on another portrait the same year, perhaps by the workshop.

[48] R. Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese, Giovanni della Casa and Titian's Danae in Naples", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 54, 1991, pp. 159–171.

[49] Giovanni della Casa, *Opere*, Milan, 1806, vol. IV, p. 186 (20 October 1544).

[50] *Ibid.*, 194–195; Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 567, n. 2534; Moroni, *Corrispondenza*, pp. 47, 56, 65, 89, p. 104, 123, 139, and 178. On 19 December 1544 Casa wrote to Gualteruzzi about the idea of the sonnet, but by 1 January 1545 he regretted it: "[…] sono entrato nel maggior garbuglio che io fussi mai […] ne farò archetypo la Magnifica Madonna Isabetta". The mat-

ter dragged on throughout the month of January, when Gualteruzzi supplied added pressure when he wrote that Cardinal Bembo anticipated the Massola *canzona* "as a priest awaits Easter". Bembo was still longing for satisfaction on 8 March 1545 when he wrote to Girolamo Querini in hopes of urging the process along. In April 1545 one of Elisabetta's servants visited Della Casa to remind him of his "debt to her", but the poem was not complete until 1 August 1545 when Gualteruzzi reported receiving it in Rome.

[51] G. Della Casa, *Opere di Monsignor Giovanni della Casa*, ed. G. B. Casotti and M. Forcellini, Venice, 1752, pp. 56–70. *Rime* XXXIII and XXXIV were dedicated to the Titian portrait, XXXVI was written in honour of Elisabetta and in competition with Bembo, and *rime* XXXVII–XXXIX were devoted her talking pet parrot.

[52] Moroni, *Corrispondenza*, pp. 19, 24, 53, 59, 263, 266–267, 297, 300; Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 508, n. 2449, p. 518, n. 2465; Della Casa, *Opere*, pp. 147–148. Della Casa reported to Gualteruzzi on 20 September 1544 that he had met Girolamo Querini, but had not yet encountered Elisabetta. Bembo wrote to Girolamo on 20 September 1544 that he had read a letter that Gualteruzzi had received from Della Casa in which the nuncio praised the courtesies he had received from Querini. In January 1545 Bembo rejoiced at the friendship that had blossomed between the two as a result of his introduction. Querini leaned on Della Casa to solve an issue relating to benefices and to aid his nephew in another matter.

[53] M. Mazzeschi Porretti, *Il Monsignore. Vita e opere di Giovanni Della Casa*, Rome, 1990, pp. 102–103. Part of this disagreement involved the dedication of the Italian translation of Bembo's *Istoria*, which Girolamo wished to dedicate to Elisabetta.

[54] C. Berra, "Le lettere di Giovanni Della Casa a Girolamo Querini", in *Studi dedicati a Gennaro Barbarisi*, ed. C. Berra and M. Mari, Milan, 2007, pp. 215–257; Mazzeschi Porretti, *Il Monsignore*, pp. 109–110. Della Casa left Venice for Rome in December 1549. The child was born sometime in May 1550 to a courtesan named Ippolita Pannona. It was left to Girolamo Querini to arrange a marriage for the woman so that the child could be taken into his custody, where he remained until late 1553. BMC, Ms. Cicogna 3423, n. 17, c. 1r: "Lasso à Querineto fiol del q. Monsignor della casa qual ho relevato et amo da fiolo rubin ligato in anello d'oro che si ritrova appresso M. Hier[oni]mo Querini che é di buon valor et tutti li arzenti che mi donò essa q. Monsignor suo padre et de pi li lasso ducati cinque cento per segno d'amor, perche non ha bisogno et se havesse bisogno più li lassaria. Li quali tutti arzenti, anello et ducati Cinquecento, voglio che staghino in man del ditto magnifico M. Hier[oni]mo Querini fino al età de ditto Querineto d'anni disdotto, al qual

tempo, gli sia consignato il tutto […]". The 1558 edition of Della Casa's *Rime e Poesie* (Venice, Nicolò Bevilacqua) was dedicated to "Girolamo Quirino fu del Magnifico Messer Smerio", whose relationship to the late poet was explained in the preface by Erasmo Gemini.

[55] Della Casa, *Opere*, pp. 174–175; G. dell Casa, *Lettere di Monsig. Giovanni della Casa, arcivescovo di Benevento a Carlo Gualteruzzi da Fano*, ed. L. M. Rezzi, Imola, 1824, p. 25. A letter of 25 March 1546 from Della Casa to Gualteruzzi speaks of the "causa di Magnifico Querini in Camera apostolica". Another of 10 April 1546 elaborates on the nature of the cause: "Io ho messo alle orecchie al Clarissimo M. Stefano Tiepolo un gran gentiluomo suo amico, e spero ottenere che a quel povero monaco sia levato il pericolo della taglia. Pure non si può mai errare a promettersi poco delle volontà degli uomini".

[56] Della Casa, *Opere*, p. 176 (24 April 1546): "Il Clarissimo Teppolo [Tiepolo] è molto aspro anchora: e non di meno ha detto di venirmi a parlar sopra la causa: se verrà, usarò ogni diligenza per addolcirlo, e votarò tutti gli alberelli e i bossoletti de l'arte: ma io non spero di far molto frutto; ne anco spero che senza il consenso di S. M. si possa ottener cosa alcuna; e di quanto io farò, voglio esser fatto creditor al libro della Magnifica Madonna Isabetta incontro a tanti obblighi che io ho con S. M. e non a quel di Mons. Reverendo [Bembo] anco questo debito sia molto grosso".

[57] Della Casa, *Opere*, p. 177 (1 May 1546): "Sono stato pur hora lunga spatio alle mani co'l clar. Teppolo, il quale in sustanza non è per rimoversi da la sua opinione, nella quale è così acerbo come se il caso fosse occorso hieri, e si duole che altri procuri di rinovar le piaghe sue, con tanta efficacia et con sì lunga querela e anco ornata e prota, che io tengo per certissimo che non si potrà ottenere quello che si desidera da questo Illustr. Dominio, il qual harà sempre rispetto a questo nobile e ben honorato genilhomo". For the brief response of Gualteruzzi to Della Casa on 8 May 1546, see O. Moroni, *Carlo Gualteruzzi e i corrispondenti*, Vatican, 1984, p. 191: "La di Vostra Reverendissima Signoria delli 2 è l'ultima fino a qui sì come anchora è la mia, et perché io sono anchora impedito della mano destra sarò breve, anzi brevissimo. Ho fatto intender quanto ella mi scrive del Clarissimo Tepolo al Cardinal, anzi Sua Signoria ha letto il capitolo stesso di Vostra Signoria, et se rimette alla perfine a chi più ne sa parendo di molta stima la molta onorevolezza di quel gentilhuomo".

[58] Gallo, "Per il 'San Lorenzo martire' di Tiziano", p. 164.

[59] Agostini, *Notizie*, vol. II, pp. 574–576; G. Da Pozzo, G. Balduino, A. Vallone, G. Luti, V. Rossi, C. Jannaco, N. Sapegno, *Storia letteraria d'Italia. Il Cinquecento*, Padua, 2007, vol. III, pp. 1596–1597. Agostini singled out Massolo and Gian Paolo Lomazzo—the noted Lombard painter and author of *Trattato dell'arte della pit-*

tura, scoltura et architettura (1584)—as the greatest proponents of Petrarchan lyrical poetry of a spiritual variety. The 1557 edition of the *Sonneti* contained two poems in honour of Elisabetta Querini. The 1583 edition contained *rime* devoted to Girolamo Querini, Bembo, Della Casa, Gualteruzzi, Gasparo Contarini and Gregorio Cortese.

[60] ASV, NT (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1207, n. 270, c. 1r.

[61] ASV, NT (Girolamo Canal), b. 190, n. 244, c. 1r: "[…] voglio esser sepulta nel[l] a sepultura se ha a far dove sarà sepulto una mia fiola che è morta […]".

[62] ASV, NT (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1210, n. 683, c. 1r: "[…] voglio et ordino che mio corpo sia messo in uno deposito nella Chiesia del m. S. Zorzi mazor in ove altri voglio siano messi in detta sepultura quale è nella Chiesia di Crosechieri davanti il mio altar".

[63] *Ibid.*, c. 1v; ASV, PSMsupra, Commissarie, b. 12, fasc. 10b, cc. 1r–2r. Lorenzo's previously unknown *mansonaria* dating to 8 August 1551, helps to fill part of that decade-long gap in documentation. The agreement states: "[…] costrui et fabricarni fecevit in ecc[lesi]a dine virginis Marie ordinus cruciferorum huius Civitatis Venetum a manu dextra Ingressus […] altare sub vocabulo dine laurentij". Although the document remains silent on any arrangements for decoration of the altar, the tense used to describe the act of building indicates that the altar itself had not yet been built.

[64] S. Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*, Leiden, 2002.

[65] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 257, n. 2119 (23 September 1539); p. 277, n. 2147 (Christmas 1539), pp. 282–283, n. 2152 (10 January 1540); pp. 370–371, n. 2269 (27 August 1541). In September 1539 Bembo asked Don Basilio to greet Elisabetta and her consort on his behalf. In 1541 Bembo refers to the safe return of Girolamo Querini and Don Basilio to Venice after their journey to an unknown destination.

[66] ASV, NT (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1207, n. 270, c. 1r: "Il corpo mio voglio che sia sepelito nella chiesa di crosechieri (Crociferi) a venezia nell'archa nostra […]".

[67] ASV, NT, b. 1210, n. 683, c. 1v.

[68] ASV, NA (Diotisalvi Benzon), b. 359, cc. 89v–90v. A record of the election of priors at various Crociferi monasteries in May 1543 mentions "Cl[arissi]mo D. Stephanus Thiepulo pr[ocurat]or et p[ro]tector dicti mon[asteri]o". In ASV, NA (Diotisalvi Benzon), b. 372 (not numbered), 19 April 1549, Stefano Tiepolo and Nicolò Zen are named "procuratori laici". Tiepolo's name appeared in several notarial documents in 1555 and 1556, including one from October 1555 that marks the transfer of administrative duties from the procurators to the prior as a result of the restoration of order at the monastery. BMC, Ms. PD. c. 2190/I, fasc. 9, "Crociferi nominate Procurator Paolo Tiepolo, 17 January 1577"; ASV, Barbaro, VII.32, fol. 84. Paolo served as ambassador to Mantua (1549), to Ferdi-

nand, King of the Romans (1554–1557), to Spain (1558–1562), and to Rome (1565–1568, 1572–1575), and as Procuratore di San Marco (1579).

[69] G. B. Gallicciolli, *Delle memorie Venete antiche, profane ed ecclesiastiche*, Venice, 1795, III, pp. 148–156.

[70] S. Lunardon, *Hospitale S. Mariae cruciferorum*, Venice, 1984, pp. 32–57; A. Sherman, *The Lost Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi: Form, Decoration, Patronage*, doctoral diss., University of St. Andrews, 2010, pp. 19–24 (chapter 1, pp. 25-32 in the present volume).

[71] *Constitutiones ordinis fratrum cruciferorum…*, Venice, 1587; B. Leoni, *Memoriale per la regolare osservanza della congregatione de' Crociferi*, Verona, 1591; B. Leoni, *L'origine et fondatione dell'ordine de'Crociferi*, Venice, 1598.

[72] Sherman, *The Lost Church*, pp. 77–79 (pp. chapter 3, pp. 86-87 in the present volume).

[73] M. Mari, "Le Lettere di Giovanni della Casa ad Annibale Rucellai", in *Per Giovanni della Casa*, ed. G. Barbarisi and C. Berra, Bologna, 1997, p. 409.

[74] ASP, CSM, b. 7, n. 62 (9 December 1544); O. Battistella, *Di Giovanni della Casa e di altri letterati all'Abbazia dei Conti di Collalto in Nervesa intorno alla metà del sec. XVI*, Treviso, 1904; N. Faldon, *La chiesa di San Martino di Conegliano*, [Conegliano], 1979, p. 12. Della Casa visited the Crociferi of San Martino di Conegliano while in Nervesa, where he retired in 1553 to write *Il Galateo*. He had intervened on their behalf as nuncio in 1545 when city officials accused them of mismanaging their *ospizio*.

[75] Sherman, *The Lost Church*, pp. 42–126 (chapter 3 in the present volume). The high altarpiece by Tintoretto, an *Assumption of the Virgin* (*c.* 1553–1555), remains on a side altar in the church of the Gesuiti. The lateral painting by Tintoretto, a *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (*c.* 1555–1556) is now in the Accademia, Venice. Its pendant by Schiavone, a *Visitation*, and the *stucchi* by Alessandro Vittoria of St. Barbara and St. Helena were lost sometime between the suppression of the Crociferi in 1656 and the rebuilding of the church by the Jesuits in the early eighteenth century.

[76] The Tintoretto *Wedding at Cana* (signed and dated 1561) is now in the sacristy of Santa Maria della Salute.

[77] Sherman, *The Lost Church*, pp. 128–170 (chapter 4 in the present volume).. Palma produced two extensive narrative cycles for the oratory of the Crociferi facing the church and for the sacristy of the church, a visual counterpart to the histories of the order published by Venetian Crociferi in these same years. He also decorated the organ and the choir, and produced at least three altarpieces and several other works for both private and corporate patrons.

[78] C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, Venice, 1648, ed. D. von Hadeln, 2 vols, Berlin, 1914–1924, vol. II, p. 172. Palma was probably born in 1544, making him fifteen in 1559.

[79] O. Pinessi, *Nicolò Zen tra Tiziano e Tinto-*

retto: storia di un riconoscimento, Treviolo, 2011. Titian's portrait of Zen (Kingston Lacy, Dorset) is dated to 1547–1550. It has been proposed that a slightly older Zen can be identified as the sitter in the portrait of a man with a gold chain in the Prado, Madrid.

[80] Tiberio d'Armano provided a dedicatory letter to Stephano Tiepolo for the Aldine edition of Lodovico Dolce's tragedy *Didone* (1547). G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* (1568), ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878–1885, vol. VI, pp. 588–589. Vasari recorded that Tiepolo was depicted as one of the (anachronistic) witnesses in Tintoretto's *Emperor Frederick receiving the Imperial Crown from Pope Adrian* (destroyed) in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio (1553).

[81] M. Rossi, "Danese Cattaneo", in *La bellissima maniera: Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, ed. A. Bacchi, L. Camerlengo and M. Leithe-Jasper, Trent, 1999, p. 240; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. VII, p. 523.

[82] T. Temanza, *Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani* [1778], ed. L. Grassi, Milan, 1966, p. 182; L. Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli architetto: opera completa*, Rome, 1986, p. 129. Sanmicheli was summoned by the friars and Stefano Tiepolo, Podestà of Padua, in November 1559 to provide an evaluation of bronze gates by Cattaneo and Tiziano Aspetti in the Cappella del Santo. *Dopo Mantegna: arte a Padova e nel territorio nei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. C. Bellinati, Milan, 1979, p. 83, cat. 50. The Tiepolo arms appear on a plinth at the centre of the Campagnola *Madonna and Child with St. Anthony of Padua and Another Saint*. The painting was commissioned as a part of the project to enlarge the Palazzo Podestarile that was initiated by Tiepolo in 1550.

[83] Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 544, n. 2500 (10 October 1545); pp. 307–308, n. 2191; pp. 477–478, n. 2403. Bembo asked Girolamo to thank Titian for his second portrait on 30 May 1540, and on 24 December 1543 requested that Girolamo urge Titian to finish his portrait of Elisabetta.

[84] Mazzeschi Porretti, *Il Monsignore*, pp. 87–89; Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese", pp. 159–171; A. Sambo, "Tiziano davanti ai giudici ecclesiastici", in *Tiziano e Venezia*, Vicenza, 1980, pp. 383–93. According to a letter of 30 September 1544 from Della Casa to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Titian was one of the first to visit the nuncio upon his arrival in Venice. Della Casa had written to the cardinal ten days before regarding the Titian portrait of Paul III and a benefice the painter hoped to secure for his son, Pomponio. He was also involved in the correspondence regarding the Naples *Danae*, passing along Titian's suggestion to give the goddess the features of Farnese's mistress, and declaring the nude in the cardinal's picture "a Theatine" nun in comparison to Titian's *Venus of Urbino*. In 1545 Della Casa served as delegate judge at Titian's trial over a dispute with the Canons of Santo Spirito in Isola, and two years later he acted as an intermediary between Titian and the Farnese court to secure

the artist the role of Keeper of the Seals to the Papacy following the death of Sebastiano del Piombo. He owned a Titian portrait of Elisabetta Querini that may well have been commissioned by the lady herself in exchange for his verses, and a now-lost portrait of himself. Upon his departure for Rome in 1550 he gave two paintings to Girolamo Querini, one of which was probably a Titian. On Titian's lost portrait of Della Casa, see A. Santosuosso, "Giovanni della Casa and His Lost Portrait by Titian", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 57, 1995, pp. 111–118; C. Terribile, "Il volto napoletano di monsignor Della Casa", *Venezia Cinquecento*, 7, n. 14, 1997, pp. 47–139; *eadem*, "Quale volto per monsignor Della Casa?", in *Giovanni della Casa*, ed. A. Quondam, Rome, 2006, pp. 79–130.

[85] Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, vol. I, pp. 176, 198; Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, pp. 477; Whistler, "Uncovering Beauty", p. 235. It has been speculated that she may have commissioned the portrait of herself as a gift to Bembo in return for one that he gave to her. This may have been Bembo's first portrait by Titian of 1539, rather than the second, referenced in a letter to Girolamo Querini in 1540, possibly a copy of the original.

[86] BMC, Ms. Cicogna 3423, n. 17, 8 March 1557, c. 1r: "Voglio et ordino che se l'archa et Pala di Crosechieri non serà finita, la facci finir con quella più prestezza serà possibile et cosi si data ogni debita execution di tempo in tempo à quanto è stà ordinato per il g. m. Lorenzo mio marido".

[87] ASV, NT (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1210, n. 683, c. 1v: "La palla del qual altar voglio del si habbia a finir et cossi et coverchio del ditta sepultura et salizato li va atorno secondo la mia intentioni come mio moier sa il tutto".

[88] Whistler, "Uncovering Beauty", p. 238.

[89] R. W. Gaston, "Vesta and the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37, 1974, pp. 358–362; S. Sponza in *Titian Prince of Painters*, ed. F. Valcancover, Venice, 1990, pp. 309–311. Sponza presents an argument that connects the choice of a nocturne setting and the lightning depicted in the Crociferi version (replaced by moonlight in the later permutation produced for Philip II of Spain) with a small book entitled *Le Virtu' in giocco, ovvero Dame Patritie di Venetia* published in 1681. Its appendix contained a deck of playing cards, one dedicated to Elisabetta Querini that was illustrated with a hieroglyph of Virtue invented by the lady herself. An accompanying inscription noted that she "scorns lightning bolts and fears not the dark".

[90] ASV, NT, b. 1210, n. 683, c. 2r: "Io voglio che mio moier manda ogni anno dilli sopra scritti padri di Crosechieri doi torci" to be placed on his altar "al vespero et alla messa di morti". A codicil was preoccupied with how and by whom the torches would be supplied after his wife's death.

[91] P. Humfrey in *The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections*, ed. A. Weston-Lewis, exh. cat., National

Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2004, pp. 26–27.

[92] A. Santosuosso, "The Moderate Inquisitor. Giovanni della Casa's Venetian Nunciature, 1544–1549", *Studi veneziani*, n.s. 2, 1978, pp. 129–130. For example, Della Casa wrote to a friend in 1552 that he had "very clearly been ordered by the Pope [Julius III] to go to the council's next session. I shall make a sincere reply, and if His Beatitude insists, I shall obey, much to the annoyance of my spirit and body, and so I shall have to abandon my writing odes".

[93] ASV, NT, b. 1207, n. 270, cc. 1^{v}–2^{r}. Elisabetta made a small provision in her 1547 testament for "lorenzo mio fiol al presente monacho di s. Benedetto del Mantoa". In her 1557 testament, Elisabetta references instructions given in her late husband's testament including: "[...] è stà ordinato per il q. m. Lorenzo mio Marido, et in quella parte dove lui lassa scudi venticinque à nostro fiolo frate in S. Benedetto di Mantoa voglio che in tutto di trenta in vita sua". The 1581 apostolic visit to the church of the Crociferi (ASVat, VA, 96, c. 72^{r}) notes the altar was "ornatum decentissime in omnibus" and records the *mansonaria* attached to it of "S.^{mi} Dn' Laurentij Massoli, familia extincta est". The altar was "annexa est ei societas", probably meaning that it was under the care of a confraternity.

[94] *The Poems of Prudentius: The Hymns*, trans. M. Clement Eagan, Washington, 1962, vol. I, p. 128; E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly iconographic*, London, 1969, pp. 55–56. Panofsky contends that Titian's source may have been the *Passio sancti Laurentii* from the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius, published in the vernacular by the Aldine press around 1501.

[95] Molmenti, "Un poeta uxoricidia", p. 137.

[96] Massolo, *Rime morali*, fols 94^{v}–95^{r}.

[97] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Titian*, vol. II, p. 259; M. Mancini, *Tiziano e le corti d'Asburgo nei documenti archivi spagnoli*, Venice, 1998, p. 322, n. 202; F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* [1581], with additions by G. Stringa, Venice, 1604, p. 147. Lorenzo Massolo and Stefano Tiepolo died in 1557, Elisabetta died in January 1559, and Girolamo Querini di Ismerio died on 25 October 1559. Because Girolamo, Elisabetta's primary executor, died soon after she did, the Crociferi may well have been involved in completing the transaction with Titian. This may clarify the consistently misinterpreted letter of 9 October 1564 from the Spanish ambassador, Garcia Hernàndez, to Philip II's secretary Gonzolo Pérez. The letter states that the Crociferi *gave* two hundred *scudi* for the *Martrydom of St. Lawrence*, not that the fathers—who had spent the better part of the century accumulating impressive works for their church—were willing to sell the painting for that extraordinarily low price. Stringa claimed in 1604 that an elderly Crocifero told him that the *frati* had received many offers over the years for the picture, even from foreign princes, of three or four thousand *scudi*, but that they would never part with it.

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The Author

Dr Allison Morgan Sherman, 37, died in Kingston, Ontario, Canada, on 26 April 2017, after a two-year struggle with breast cancer. She was surrounded by her loving family, including her mother, Joan Sherman, her caregiver for the entire two years – a word which conveys so little of Joan's fierce and devoted love for her daughter.

Allie discovered a love of Italian Renaissance Art History at Queen's University, and in her second year as an undergraduate student, in 2000, cemented her passion for Venice during the annual Queen's Venice Summer School, then taught by Sharon Gregory and Sally Hickson. Her M.A at Queen's (awarded 2004) was supervised by David McTavish, and her Ph.D. at the University of St Andrews in Scotland (awarded 2010) by Peter Humfrey.

Allie's interests, while centred on Renaissance Venice, were broad. Given her short life, she was a prolific scholar, publishing, in the five years following her dissertation, nine articles and book chapters, a co-edited book in honour of Deborah Howard, and an article co-written with Peter Humfrey. She was the recipient of grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation and the Burlington Magazine Foundation. Her *Artibus et Historiae* article "Murder and Martyrdom: Titian's Gesuiti *St Lawrence* as a Family Peace Offering" received an honourable mention for the I Tatti Prize of 2013 for Best Essay by a Junior Scholar. Among other topics, she worked on: Venetian churches; the Counter-Reformation in Venice; Venetian monastic life; ducal, private, corporate and monastic art patronage, including (particularly) that of lay procurators for mendicant orders; and views and maps of Venice. Her dissertation on the Crociferi church, Santa

Maria Assunta (now the Gesuiti), led her additionally to explore aspects of monastic music and the afterlife of works of art sold, dispersed and dismantled before and after ecclesiastical and Napoleonic suppression. Infamously, few documentary sources for the Venetian Crociferi survived in obvious archival *fondi*, and researching this church ultimately led Allie to develop an extraordinary "nose" for archival documents.

Allie was an extremely dedicated teacher. She taught courses at Carleton University in Ottawa, and at Queen's University, where (as a sessional lecturer) she also served as Graduate Coordinator. From 2011–16, she taught the Queen's Venice Summer School with Krystina Stermole, thus coming full circle from her undergraduate experience. The tributes that have flooded in from her students praise her passion for art and for teaching, her kindness, and the undivided attention she gave during "tea and sympathy" office hours. During her illness, she came to the realization that academic life had become too stressful and unrewarding, and she planned a major change in her life and her career. Most important of all, Allie had a great gift for friendship. Her extraordinarily open and affable nature, and her outrageous sense of humour, led people from many walks of life (including the scholars she worked beside at the Archivio di Stato in Venice) to adore her. She loved her family, close friends, teachers and mentors all her life – a love that was wholeheartedly and unreservedly returned.

Sharon Gregory and
Sally Hickson, May 2017

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